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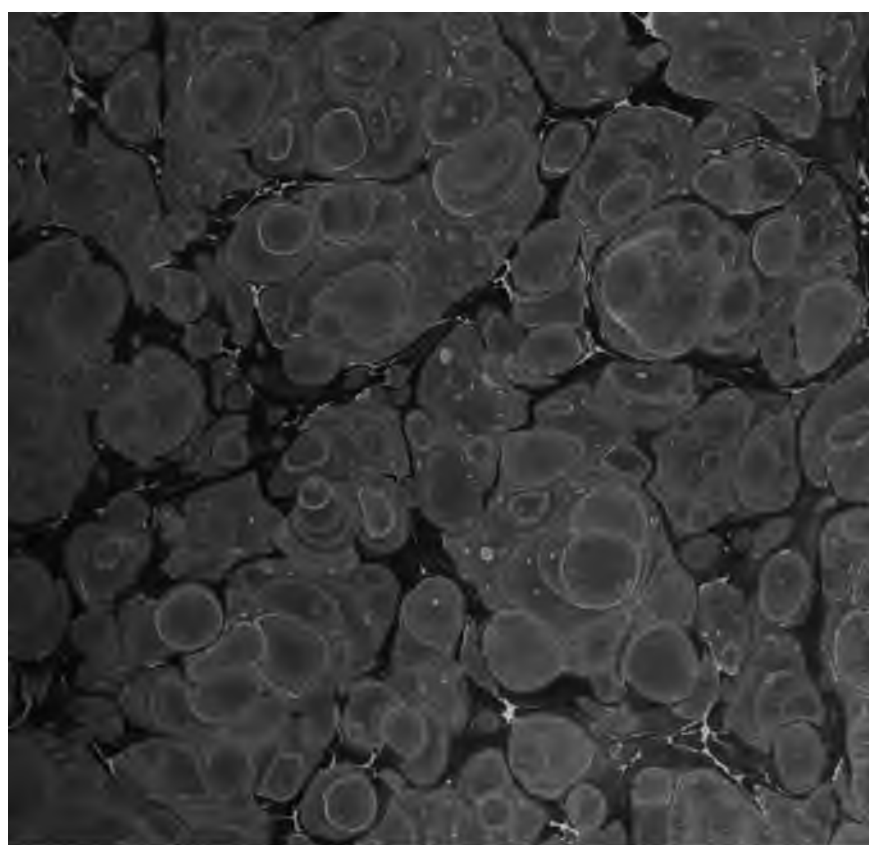
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A N C I E N T M A N N E R S :

WITH

DISSERTATIONS

**ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS OF SHAKSPEARE ; ON THE
COLLECTION OF POPULAR TALES ENTITLED
GESTA ROMANORUM ; AND ON THE
ENGLISH MORRIS DANCE.**

By FRANCIS DOUCE.

THE ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD BY J. BERRYMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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KING HENRY VI. PART I.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 506.

BED. And with them scourge the bad revolting stars,
That have *consented* unto Henry's death.

IT is conceived that most readers, after perusing the several notes on these lines, will be of opinion that some further elucidation is necessary. The first attempt should be to ascertain the respective significations of the words *concent* and *consent*, which can only be effected by an attention to their Latin etymology.

Concent, in its simple and primitive acceptance, is nothing more than a *singing together harmoniously*; but because in such harmony there is an *agreement* of sounds, the word was sometimes metaphorically used to express *concord* or *agreement generally*. *Consent* never means *union of sounds*, but *agreement generally*, or an *union of sense or opinion*. Cicero has most carefully distinguished them when he says, "Ubi

2 KING HENRY VI. PART I.

enim perspecta vis est rationis ejus qua causæ rerum atque exitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidam omnium quasi *consensus* doctrinarum, *concentusque* reperitur." De oratore, lib. iii. Among English writers, the similitude in sound and an inattention to orthography have contributed to their common and promiscuous use.

Mr. Steevens inclines to the meaning above given of *concent*, and yet he adops *consent* in his text; nor are his instances uniform. Thus in the quotation from Cicero *De nat. deorum*, *concentus* simply means *concord* or *agreement*. In the passage from Milton *consent* evidently denotes the same thing. The rest of his quotations relate to *musical concent*.

Mr. Mason, in his own words, assents to Mr. Steevens's explanation; yet his instances are all unfortunately calculated to illustrate the other sense of *barely agreeing*.

The books of Elizabeth's time indiscriminately use both modes of orthography. Thus we have, "Broughton's *concent* of Scripture," for *consent*; though, as is shown already, either will serve for *agreement*.

In the two passages cited by Mr. Steevens from Spenser, the orthography varies, though the meaning is evidently the same, i.e. *musical con-*

KING HENRY VI. PART I 3

cent. His expectations will be often disappointed who shall seek an exact meaning from some particular mode of orthography in ancient writers. There does not perhaps exist a more fallible rule ; and it was reserved for the superior accuracy of modern times to affix any thing like uniformity of spelling, and consequently of sense, to our language.

It is impossible at this time to collect precisely what the author of the lines in question intended. The only guide we have is the passage quoted by Mr. Malone from another part of this play, " You all *consented* unto Salisbury's death." Yet, had the poet written *concocted*, the sense in both places might be, *you all acted in concert, or jointly in unison, to accomplish the death &c.* This accords with the following passage in *Pericles*, Act i. Sc. 1.

" The senate house of planets *all did sit*
To knit in *her* their best *perfections*."

An opportunity here presents itself of remarking how injudiciously we have discarded the more expressive and legitimate term *consort*, as a company of musicians playing together, for the new-fangled Italian *concert*! The other would be vulgar to a modern ear, and is now marked in our dictionaries as a *corrupt spelling*.

4 KING HENRY VI. PART I.

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 584.

MAY. The bishop's and the duke of Gloster's men,
Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
Have fill'd their pockets full of *pebble stones*, &c.

This fact is borrowed, with some variation, from Stowe or Fabian. "Men being forbidden to bring swords or other weapons, brought great battes and staves on their neckes; and when *those weapons were inhibited them*, they took *stones and plomets of lead*, &c."

Sc. 1. p. 587.

WAR. Sweet king!—the bishop hath a *kindly gird*.

Mr. Steevens has on this occasion, for the sake of the last word, introduced two notes which might very well have been spared. There is no doubt that Warwick means to say that the young king has given Winchester a gentle reproof. This is the plain and obvious meaning of *gird*. Dr. Johnson is wide, very wide, of the mark.

ACT V.

Scene 3. Page 645.

Pvc. You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the north,
Appear.

The monarch of the North was Zimimar, one of the four principal devils invoked by witches. The others were, Amaimon king of the East, Gorseon king of the South, and Goap king of the West. Under these devil kings were devil marquesses, dukes, prelates, knights, presidents and earls. They are all enumerated, from Wier *De præstigiis dæmonum*, in Scot's *Discoverie of witchcraft*, book xv, c. 2 and 3.



KING HENRY VI. PART II.

ACT I.

Scene 2. Page 20.

DOCH. With *Margery Jourdain*, the cunning witch.

IT appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 505, that in the tenth year of King Henry the Sixth, *Margery Jourdemayn*, John Virley clerk, and friar John Ashwell were, on the ninth of May 1433, brought from Windsor by the constable of the castle, to which they had been committed for sorcery, before the council at Westminster, and afterwards, by an order of council, delivered into the custody of the lord chancellor. The same day it was ordered by the lords of council that whenever the said Virley and Ashwell should find security for their good behaviour they should be set at liberty, and in like manner that Jourdemayn should be discharged on her husband's finding security. This woman was

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 7

afterwards burned in Smithfield, as stated in the play and also in the chronicles.

ACT II.

Scene 3. Page 64.

PET. Here Robin, an if I die, I give thee my *apron*.

Minsheu and others conceived that this word was derived from *afore one*, an etymology that perfectly accords with the burlesque manner of Dean Swift. It has been also deduced from the Greek words *προ* and *περι*; the Latin *porro* and *operio*, &c. &c. Skinner, with more plausibility, has suggested the Saxon *apopan*. After all, an *apron* is no more than a corruption of a *napron*, the old and genuine orthography. Thus in *The mery adventure of the pardonere and tapstere* :

“ ————— and therewith to wepe

She made, and with her *napron* feir and white ywash

She wynd soft hir eyen for teris that she outlash

As grete as any mylstone —”

Urry's Chaucer, p. 594.

We have borrowed the word from the old French *naperon*, a large cloth. See Carpentier *Suppl. ad Cangium*, v. *Naperii*. So *napkin*,

8 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

which has perplexed our dictionary-makers, is only a *little* cloth, from *nappe*.

Sc. 3. p. 66.

HOR. Hold Peter, hold; I confess treason.

[Dies.]

The real names of these combatants were *John Daveys* and *William Catour*, as appears from the original precept to the sheriffs still remaining in the Exchequer, commanding them to prepare the barriers in Smithfield for the combat. The names of the sheriffs were Godfrey Boloyne and Robert *Horne*; and the latter, which occurs in the page of Fabian's chronicle that records the duel, might have suggested the name of *Horner* to Shakspeare. Stowe is the only historian who has preserved the servant's name, which was *David*. Annexed to the before mentioned precept is the account of expenses incurred on this occasion, duly returned into the Exchequer. From this it further appears that the erection of the barriers, the combat itself, and the subsequent execution of the armourer, occupied the space of six or seven days; that the barriers had been brought to Smithfield in a cart from Westminster; that a large quantity of sand and gravel

was consumed on the occasion, and that the place of battle was strewed with rushes. Mr. Steevens has inferred from the above record that *the armourer was not killed by his opponent, but worsted, and immediately afterwards hanged.* This, however, is in direct contradiction to all the historians that have mentioned the circumstance, who, though they differ in some particulars, are certainly agreed as to the death of the accused by the hands of his servant. Halle's words are, "whose *body* was drawn to Tyborn and there hanged and beheaded ;" a mode of expression which, though ambiguous, seems rather to refer to the previous death of the party. Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, and Holinshed, state that he was slain. It is possible that Mr. Steevens, in making the above inference, conceived that because the man was hanged he must necessarily have been alive at the time of his execution : but the *mercy* of the law on this occasion certainly made no such distinction; and *the dead body of the vanquished was equally adjudged to the punishment of a convicted traitor, in order that his posterity might participate in his infamy.* Indeed the record itself seems decisive ; for it states that the dead man was watched *after the battle was done*, and this probably means before

it was conveyed to Tyborn for execution and decapitation. The same rule was observed in cases of appeal for murder, as we learn from the laws or assizes of Jerusalem made there in the fourteenth century; by which he that was slain or vanquished from cowardice in the field of battle, was adjudged to be *drawn and hanged*; his horse and arms being given to the constable. See Thaumassiere *Assises de Jerusalem*, ch. 104. and Selden's *Duello*, p. 30. The hanging and beheading were confined to cases of murder and treason; in a simple affair of arms the vanquished party was only disarmed and led forth ignominiously from the lists.

Since this note was written, the whole of the curious record in the Exchequer has been printed in Mr. Nicholls's valuable and interesting work entitled, *Illustrations of the manners and expences of antient times in England*, 1797, 4to. As intimately connected with the present subject, the following extract cannot fail of being acceptable. It is taken from Gaguin, *Gestes Romains*, printed at Paris by Ant. Verard, without date, in folio, a volume of extreme rarity, and is part of the ceremony of an appeal for treason as regulated by Thomas Duke of Gloucester, high constable to Richard the Second. "Et si la dicte

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 11

bataille est cause de traison, celluy qui est vaincu et desconfit sera desarmé dedans les lices, et par le commandement du conestable sera mis en un cornet et en reprehencion de luy sera traîné hors avec chevaulx du lieu mesme ou il est ainsi desarmé parmy les lices jusques au lieu de justice, ou sera decolé ou pendu selon l'usage du pays, laquelle chose appartient au mareschal veoir par fournir par son office, et le mettre a execution," fo. 146:—that is, "If the said battle be on account of treason, he that is vanquished and discomfited shall be disarmed within the lists, and by the authority of the constable put into a little cart; then having received a proper reprimand he shall be drawn by horses from the spot where he has been disarmed, through the lists, to the place of public execution, and there hanged or beheaded according to the custom of the country: which matter the marshal, by virtue of his office, is to see performed and executed."

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 74.

SUP. I think, I should have told your *grace's* tale.

On this expression Dr. Johnson remarks that

12 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

"*majesty* was not the settled title till the time of King James the First." In a note to vol. i. p. 97, of the lives of *Leland, Hearne, and Wood*, it is said that our kings had not the title of *majesty* in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and another note in Dr. Warburton's edition of the *Dunciad*, b. iv. l. 176, states that James was the first who assumed the title of *sacred majesty*; all which information is unsupported by authority.

On the other hand, Camden more correctly says, that "*majesty* came hither in the time of King Henry the Eighth, as *sacred majesty* lately in our memory." *Remains concerning Britain*, p. 198, edit. 1674, 8vo. Selden, referring to this passage, wishes it to be understood so far as it relates to the title being "commonly in use and properly to the king applied," because he adduces an instance of the use of *majesty* so early as the reign of Henry the Second. In a letter from queen Elizabeth to Edward the Sixth, she signs "Your *majesties* humble sister," and addresses it "To the *kinges most excellent majestie*." Harl. MS. No. 6986. In the same volume is a most extraordinary letter in Italian to Elizabeth, beginning, "*Serenissima et sacratissima maesta*," which shews that Camden, who wrote what he says above early in 1603, must rather refer to Elizabeth than James the First.

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 13

The use of *majesty* is ascribed by the learned authors of the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique* to Gondemar king of the Visigoths, and to the kings of Lorraine in the seventh century; but in France it is not traceable before the year 1360, about which time Raoul de Presle, in the dedication to his translation of Saint Augustin *De civitate Dei*, thus addresses Charles the Fifth, "si supplie à vostre *royalle majesté*." It was however but sparingly used till the reign of Louis XI. In the treaty of Créssy the emperor Charles V. is called *imperial majesty*, and Francis I. *royal majesty*. In that of Château Cambresis, Henry II. is entitled *most christian majesty*, and Philip II. *catholic majesty*. Pasquier has some very curious remarks in reprobation of the use of *majesty*. See *Recherches de la France*, liv. viii. ch. 5.

Both Camden and Selden agree that the title of *Grace* began about the time of Henry the Fourth, and of *excellent Grace* under Henry the Sixth.

Sc. 1. p. 91.

YORK. ————— I have seen him
 Caper upright like a wild *Mórisco*,
 Shaking the bloody darts as he his bells.

However just Dr. Johnson's explanation of

144 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

Morisco may be in an etymological point of view, it is at least doubtful whether it mean in this place a real or even personated *Moor*. Nothing more may be intended than simply a performer in a morris dance. It may be likewise doubted whether in the English morris dance, a single Moorish character was ever introduced. The quotation from Junius is extremely perplexing; yet it must be remembered that he was a foreigner, and speaking perhaps conjecturally.

Sc. 2. p. 96.

K. HEN. ————— Come, *basilisk*,
And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight.

Bartholomæus, with whom it has been shown that Shakspeare was well acquainted, speaking of the *basilisk* or *cockatrice*, says, “In his *sight* no fowle nor birde passeth harmlesse, and though he be farre from the foule, yet it is burnt and devoured by his mouth . . . Plinius also sayth there is a wilde beast called *Catobletas* [which is] great noyeng to mankinde: for all that see his eyen should dye anon; and the same kinde hath the *cockatrice*.” *De propriet. rer.* lib. xvii. c. 16. The same property is also mentioned by Pliny of the *basilisk*, but Holland’s translation was not

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 15

printed till after this play was written. It is true that if Shakspeare did not write the lines in question, the original author might have used a Latin Pliny.

Sc. 2. p. 103.

WAR. Oft have I seen a *timely-parted* ghost.

It has been very plausibly suggested that *timely-parted* signifies in *proper time*, as opposed to *timeless*; yet in this place it seems to mean *early, recently, newly*. Thus in *Macbeth*, Act ii, Sc. 3,

"He did command me to call *timely* on him."

Again, in *The unfaithful lover's garland*,

"Says he, I'll rise; says she, I scorn.

To be so *timely parted*."

Porter, in his comedy of the *Two angry women of Abingdon*, 1599, 4to, seems to have had Warwick's speech in view when he wrote these lines:

"Oft have I heard a *timely married* girl
That *newly* left to call her mother mam, &c."

Sc. 2. p. 105.

WAR. But see, his face is black and full of blood.

The accounts given by the English historians

16 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

of the Duke of Gloucester's death are very discordant and unsatisfactory. They relate that he was smothered between feather-beds; that he was found dead in his bed; that a red hot spit was thrust through him; and that he died of grief. There is another account of this event, which, as it seems to have been quite unnoticed in our histories, and may deserve as much attention as either of the foregoing, shall here be given.

George Chastellain, a celebrated soldier, poet, and historian, was by birth a Fleming, and is said to have been in the service of Philip duke of Burgundy. He travelled into various countries, and wrote an account of what he had seen, under the title of *The wonderful occurrences of his time*. Speaking of his visit to England, he says;

“ Passant par Angleterre
 Je veis en grant tourment
 Les seigneurs de la terre
 S'entretuer forment
 Avec un tel deluge
 Qui cueurs esbahissoit
 Que a peine y eut refuge
 Ou mort n'apparoissoit.
 Ung nouveau roy creerent
 Par despiteux vouloir
 Le viel en debouterent
 Et son legitime hoir

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 17

Qui fuytif alla prendre
Descosse le garand,
De tous siècles le mendre
Et le plus tollerant."

This alludes to the flight of Henry the Sixth into Scotland. In another place he speaks as an eye witness of the death of duke Humphrey, and relates that *he was strangled in a cask of wine*, adding also the reason,

" Par fortune senestre
Veiz a l'oeil vivement
Le grant duc de Glocestre
Meurdrir piteusement
En vin plein une cuve
Falloit que estranglé fust,
Coydant par celle estuve,
Que la mort ny parut."

What credit he may deserve may be worth the inquiry of some future historian. His work in general will strike every reader as a strange mixture of veracity and credulity.

The above singular mode of inflicting death seems to have prevailed about this time; for we find not long afterwards another instance of it in the execution of George duke of Clarence, who, as is generally agreed, was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. He appears to have chosen the manner of his death, on which Mr. Hume

18 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

makes the following observation: "A whimsical choice, which implies that *he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor**." It should rather be inferred that the punishment in question was more frequent than is commonly known, and made use of for culprits of rank and eminence when dispatched in secret. Jean Molinet, the continuator of the above work of Chastellain, has thus described this event:

" Jay veu duc de Clarence
Bouté en une tour
Qui queroit apparence
De regner a son tour ;
De mort preadvisee
Le roy le feist noyer
Dedans mallevoises
Pour le moins ennuyer."

Sc. 2. p. 116.

Q. MAR. Away! though parting be a fretful *corrosive*.

A learned commentator has stated that this

* One should almost suppose that the historian had recollected Cyrano de Bergerac's dream of a visit to the infernal regions, where he saw the Duke of Clarence, "who," says he, "*voluntarily drowned himself in a barrel of Malmsey, seeking for Diogenes, in hopes of getting half his tub to lodge in.*"

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 19

word was *generally* written *corsive* in Shakespeare's time, and he has indeed proved that it was so written *sometimes*. The fact is, it was written as at present in prose, and in poetry either way, as occasion required. Thus Drant in his translation of *Horace's satyres*, 1566, 4to :

" Wote you not why ? *corrosyue* style
Is *corsey* to the eye."

In the text it should be printed *cor'sive*.

Sc. 3. p. 116.

K. HEN. O beat away the busy meddling fiend
That lays strong siege unto this wretch's soul.

It was the belief of our pious ancestors, that when a man was on his death-bed the devil or his agents attended in the hope of getting possession of the soul, if it should happen that the party died without receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, or without confessing his sins. Accordingly in the ancient representations of this subject, and more particularly in those which occur in such printed services of the church as contain the vigils or office of the dead, these *busy meddling fiends* appear, and with great anxiety besiege the dying man ; but on the approach of

20 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

the priest and his attendants, they betray symptoms of horrible despair at their impending discomfiture. In an ancient manuscript book of devotions, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, there is a prayer addressed to Saint George, with the following very singular passage: "Judge for me whan the moste hedyous and damnable dragons of helle shall be redy to take my poore soule and engloute it in to theyr infernall belyes."

Shakspeare, who in many instances has proved himself to have been well acquainted with the forms and ceremonies of the Romish church, has, without doubt, on the present occasion, availed himself of the above opinion. Whether this had happened to that pre-eminent painter, who, among the numerous monuments of his excellence that have immortalised himself and done honour to his country, has depicted the last moments of Cardinal Beaufort with all the powers of his art, cannot now be easily ascertained. He has been censured for personifying the fiend, on the supposition that the poet's language is merely figurative; with what justice this note may perhaps assist in deciding. Some might disapprove the renovation of Popish ideas; whilst others, more attentive to ancient costume, and regardless of

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 21

popular or other prejudices, might be disposed to defend the painter on the ground of strict adherence to the manners of the times.

The reader may not be displeased at being introduced to a more intimate acquaintance with the *ancient* mode of representing a dying man as above referred to. It is copied from a print in a later edition of the *Ars moriendi*, one of those books on which the citizens of Harlem found their claim to the invention of printing; whereas it is in fact no more than a collection of wooden engravings made for pious purposes, and explained by writing cut on the same blocks, and by no means a real specimen of the above art. To this is added another exhibition of the same subject, but very superior in point of art. It is copied from an engraving in wood by an unknown artist of considerable merit; and from the striking resemblance which it bears to the picture of our great painter above alluded to, much cannot be hazarded in supposing that he might have taken some hints from it, as it is well known that he collected many prints with the view of making such use of preceding excellence as the most exalted genius will ever condescend to do.

The Greeks, when persons were dying, drove away evil spirits by placing at the door branches

22 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

of bramble or buckthorn. They likewise made a noise by beating brazen vessels for the same purpose.





ACT IV.

Scene 2. *Page 139.*

CADRE. — the *three-hoop'd* pot shall have ten hoops.

The note here is not sufficiently explanatory,
The old drinking-pots, being of wood, were bound
together, as barrels are, with hoops ; whence

24 KING HENRY VI. PART II.

they were called *hoops*. Cade promises that every can which now had three hoops shall be increased in size so as to require ten. What follows in the notes about "burning of cans," does not appear to relate to the subject.

Sc. 2. p. 140.

SMITH. The clerk of Chatham.

This person is a non-entity in history, and in all probability a character invented by the writer of the play. It is presumed that few will be inclined to agree with Mr. Ritson in supposing him to have been Thomas Bayly *a necromancer at Whitechapel*, and Cade's bosom friend.

Sc. 7. p. 161.

CADZ. Then break into his son in law's house, Sir *James Cromer*.

Mr. Ritson cites William of Worcester to shew that this sheriff's name was *William*. The author of the play, if wrong, may be justified by the examples of Halle, Grafton, Stowe, in his early editions, and Holinshed, who call him *James*. Fabian, as if doubtful, leaves a blank

KING HENRY VI. PART II. 25

for Crowmer's Christian name. As to the fact itself, the evidence of William of Worcester, a contemporary writer, is entitled to the preference. Fuller's list of the sheriffs of Kent likewise makes the name *William*.

Sc. 10. p. 173.

CADRE. I think this word *sallet* was born to do me good :
for many a time, but for a *sallet*, my brain-pan
had been cleft with a brown bill.

The notes on this occasion may admit of correction as well as curtailment. It is possible that we have borrowed *sallet* from the French *salade*, in the sense of a helmet ; but the original word is the old Teutonic *schale*, which signifies generally, a covering. Hence *shell*, *scale*, *scull*, *shield*, &c. Wicliffe does not use *brain-pan* for *scull*, in *Judges* ix. 53, as Mr. Whalley supposes, but *brain*, simply.



KING HENRY VI. PART III.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 223.

Exe. Here comes the queen whose looks *bewray* her anger.

ALTHOUGH the word *bewray* has received very proper illustration on the present and other occasions, it remains to observe that its simple and original meaning was to *discover* or *disclose*; that it has been confounded with *betray*, which is used, though not exclusively, for *to discover for bad or treacherous purposes*, a sense in which *bewray* is never *properly* found. Of this position take the following proof: "If you do so, saide the other, then you ought to let me knowe what so ever you know your selfe: unlesse you thinke that yourself will *bewray* yourself, except you doubt yourself will deceive yourself, and unlesse you thinke that yourself will *betray* your self." Lupton's *Siugila*, 1580, 4to, sign. L 4. b.

Sc. 1. p. 224.

Q. MAR. *Rather* than made that savage duke thine heir.

The note which follows Mr. Steevens's was *not* inadvertently introduced by that gentleman, though it certainly should not have been retained *as the text now stands*.

Sc. 4. p. 242.

Q. MAR. [Putting a *paper* crown on his head.]

Mr. Ritson has not shown, as he conceived he had, that the preceding commentator was *certainly mistaken*: for the author of the play, if he be accountable for the stage direction, could not have "followed history with the utmost precision," when he makes *queen Margaret* put a *paper* crown on York's head; whereas Holinshed, the black letter chronicler whom Mr. Ritson should have first consulted, and who only follows Whethamstede, relates that a garland of *bulrushes* was placed on York's head, which was afterwards stricken off and presented to the queen. Nor is there historical evidence that the queen herself put on the crown. Shakspeare has continued the same error in *King Richard the*

28 KING HENRY VI. PART III.

Third, where he makes Gloucester say to queen Margaret,

"The curse my noble father laid on thee
When thou didst crown his noble brows with *paper*."

He was therefore, in this instance, misled by the author of *King Henry the Sixth*; or, he must have written the queen's speech himself.

Sc. 4. p. 244.

YORK. Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth.

Again in *Cymbeline*, Act iii. Sc. 4;

"Whose tongue outvenoms all the worms of Nilc."

ACT III.

Scene 2. Page 310.

L. GREY. But, mighty lord, this merry inclination
Accords not with the *sadness* of my suit.

The following is offered as a very select instance of the use of *sadness* for *seriousness*. It is from Tom Coriat's speech that he made to a Mahometan who had called him an infidel. "But I pray thee tell me thou Mahometan, dost thou

KING HENRY VI. PART III. 29

in *sadness* call me *Giaur*? That I doe, quoth he. Then quoth I, in very *sober sadness* I retort that shameful word in thy throate."

Sc. 2. p. 314.

GLO. Like to a chaos, or an *unlick'd bear-whelp*.

The common opinion which Dr. Johnson mentions of the bear bringing forth unformed lumps of animated flesh, and afterwards licking them into proper shape, has been very properly exposed and confuted by Sir Thomas Brown in his *Enquiries into vulgar errors*, book iii. ch. 6. His adversary Ross in his *Arcana microcosmi*, p. 115, has attempted a solution of this matter, by stating it as a fact that bears bring forth their young deformed and mis-shapen, by reason of the thick membrane in which they are wrapped, that is, covered over with a mucous and flegmatick matter. This, he says, the dam contracts in the winter time, by lying in hollow caves without motion, so that to the eye the cub appears like an unformed lump. The above mucilage is afterwards licked away by the dam, and the membrane broken, whereby that which before seemed to be unformed appears now in its right shape.

30 KING HENRY VI. PART III.

And this, he contends, against Dr. Brown, is all that the ancients meant. See more on the subject of the old opinion in Bartholomæus *De proprietat. rerum*, lib. xviii. c. 112.

ACT IV.

Scene 7. Page 359.

GLO. For many men that *stumble at the threshold*.

To understand this phrase rightly, it must be remembered that some of the old thresholds or steps under the door, were, like the hearths, raised a little, so that a person might stumble over them unless proper care were taken. A very whimsical reason for this practice is given in a curious little tract by Sir Balthazar Gerbier, entitled, *Council and advice to all builders*, 1663, 24mo, in these words, "A good surveyour shuns also the ordering of doores with *stumbling-block-thresholds*, though our forefathers affected them, perchance to perpetuate the antient custome of bridegroomes, when formerly at their return from church [they] did use to lift up their bride, and to knock their head against that of the doore, for a remembrance, that they were not to passe the threshold of their house without their leave."

ACT V.

Scene 7. Page 403.

CLAR. What will your grace have done with Margaret?
 Reignier her father, to the king of France
 Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
 And hither have they sent *it* for her ransom.

Unless there be some omission in this speech, it must either be regarded as improperly elliptical, or as ungrammatical. *It* refers to the sum of money borrowed by Margaret's father, which is mentioned by the French historians to have been fifty thousand crowns. The author of the play followed Holinshed.

THE right accentuation of Hēcătē, as well as the proper description of Althea's torch, which Shakspeare, in *King Henry the Fourth*, had misrepresented, are additional arguments that he did *not* write the whole of these plays; but that they were composed by some person who had more classical knowledge, but infinitely less genius than our author.

KING RICHARD III.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 461.

GLO. *He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.*

THE question with Dr. Johnson is, whether it be *war* that capers, or *York*; and he justly remarks that if the latter, the antecedent is at an almost forgotten distance. The amorous temper of Edward the Fourth is well known; and there cannot be a doubt that by *the lascivious pleasing of a lute*, he is directly alluded to. The subsequent description likewise that Richard gives of himself is in comparison with the *king*. Dr. Johnson thought the image of *war capering* poetical; yet it is not easy to conceive how *grimvisag'd war* could *caper in a lady's chamber*.

Sc. 1. p. 462.

GLO. Cheated of feature by *dissembling* nature.

The poet by this expression seems to mean no

more than that nature had made for Richard features *unlike* those of other men. To *dissemble*, both here and in the passage quoted from *King John*, signifies the reverse of to *resemble*, in its active sense, and is not used as *dissimulare* in Latin.

ACT II.

Scene 3. Page 540.

2 CIT. Ill news by'r lady; *seldom comes the better*.

Well might the author of the book quoted by Mr. Reed say "that proverb indeed is auncient," as will appear from the following curious account of its origin, extracted from a manuscript collection of stories compiled about the time of king Henry the Third.

"Quidam abbas dedit monachis suis tria fercula. Dixerunt monachi, Iste parum dat nobis. Rogemus Deum ut cito moriatur. Et sive ex hac causa, sive ex alia, mortuus est. Substitutus est alius, qui eis tamen dedit duo fercula. Irati monachi contristati dixerunt, Nunc magis est orandum, quia unum ferculum subtractum est, Deus subtrahat ei vitam suam. Tandem mortuus

est. Substitutus est tertius, qui duo fercula subtraxit. Irati monachi dixerunt, Iste pessimus est inter omnes, quia fame nos interficit; rogemus Deum quod cito moriatur. Dixit unus monachus, Rogo Deum quod det ei vitam longam, et manu teneat eum nobis. Alii admirati querebant quare hoc diceret; qui ait, Vide quod primus fuit malus, secundus pejor, iste pessimus; timeo quod cum mortuus fuerit alius pejor succedet, qui penitus nos fame perimet. Unde solet dici, *Seilde comed se betere.*"

Sc. 4. p. 546.

Q. ELIZ. A *parlous* boy.

"Parlous," says Mr. Steevens, "is keen, shrewd." Mr. Ritson is of a different opinion, and thinks it a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous. Both parties are right; but it is probably used here as *perilous*, in like manner as the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* talks of "a *parlous* knock," and as it is also to be taken in *A midsummer night's dream*, where Mr. Steevens had properly explained it; and the instance which he has given on the present occasion does, in fact, corroborate his former note. *Parlous* is likewise made synonymous with *shrewd* by Littelton. See his Latin

dict. v. *importunus*. In Middleton's play of *The changeling*, we have "a *parlous* fool," i. e. *shrewd*, "he must sit in the fourth form at least." Yet a few pages further the same word is as clearly used for *perilous*. After all, there is little or no difference in the senses of it, for in shrewdness there is certainly peril. He that meets with a *shrew*, may well be said to be *in danger*. Some might think that this word is the same as *talkative*, in which case it must have been borrowed from the French; but that language does not furnish an adjective of the kind. The original corruption was *perlious*. Thus in an unpublished work by William of Nassyngton, a poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote on the Lord's prayer, &c., we have, "Methinks this maner is *perlious*."

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 561.

YORK. Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;
Because that I am little, like an *ape*,
He thinks that you should *bear me on your shoulders*.

Mr. M. Mason contends that this is simply an allusion to Richard's deformity, and is not inclined to

admit the propriety of Dr. Johnson's supposition, that York means to call his uncle a *bear*. From a quotation given by the former gentleman, it is clear that Shakspeare, when alluding to Richard's deformity, mentions his *back*; and it is therefore probable that he would have used the same term in the present instance, had he adverted to the duke's shape. For this reason Dr. Johnson's opinion seems preferable; yet something more might have been intended. The practice of keeping apes or domestic monkeys was formerly much more common than at present. Many old prints and paintings corroborate this observation*, and in some the monkey appears chained to a large globe or roller of wood, which, whilst it permitted the animal to shift his situation, prevented him from making his escape. It is almost unnecessary to add that the monkey, as the intimate companion of the domestic fool, would often get upon his shoulders. There is a fine picture, by Holbein, of Henry the Eighth and some of his family, which, by favour of his majesty, now decorates the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries. In it is an admirable portrait of Will Somers, the

* See the fine frontispiece by Coriolano to Vesalius's Anatomy.

king's fool, with a monkey clinging to his neck, and apparently occupied in rendering his friend William a very essential piece of service, wherein this animal is remarkably dexterous, the fool reclining his head in a manner that indicates his sense of the obligation. York may therefore mean to call his uncle a fool, and this, after all, may be the *scorn* that Buckingham afterwards refers to.

Every one is acquainted with the propensity of the monkey to climbing upon other animals. Gervase Markham in his *Cavalerice*, a treatise on horsemanship already referred to, devotes a chapter to inform his readers "how a horse may be taught to doe any tricke done by *Banhes* his curtall," in which he says, "I will shew you by the example of two or three trickes, how you shall make your horse to doe any other action as well as any dog or *ape* whatsoever, except it be *leaping upon your shoulders*." The curious reader may find more illustration of the subject in the specimen of Dr. Boucher's *Supplement to Johnson's dictionary*, article *ape*; but the learned and ingenious author was certainly mistaken in supposing that fools carried the *representations of apes on their shoulders*, and probably in what he says concerning the origin of the phrase of putting *an ape* in a man's hood.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. *Page 621.*

K. RICH. Because that like a *Jack*, thou keep'st the *stroke*.

At Horsham church, in Sussex, there was a figure dressed in scarlet and gold, that struck the quarters. He was called *Jack o' the clock-house*. The French term for this kind of automaton is *jaquemar*, the etymology of which is very fanciful and uncertain.

ACT V.

Scene 1. *Page 660.*

BUCK. *Holy* king Henry—

This epithet is not applied without good reason. King Henry the Sixth, though never actually canonized, was regarded as a saint, and miracles were supposed to have been performed by him. In some of our church service-books before the Reformation, there are prayers which are said to have been of his composition, and one in particular

that is addressed to him is entitled, "A prayer to *holy king Henry*."

Sc. 3. p. 665.

K. RICH. Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength.

Borrowed from *Proverbs*, xviii. v. 10. "The name of the Lord is a strong tower."

Sc. 3. p. 667.

CATE. ——— It's supper time, my lord;
It's *nine* o'clock.

"A supper at so late an hour as nine o'clock in the year 1485," says Mr. Steevens, "would have been a prodigy." It certainly would, and even at the time when this play was written, the period to which the criticism more justly belongs. In either instance there was a reason for preferring the text of the quarto copy, and yet the unnecessary alteration is retained.

Sc. 3. p. 688.

K. RICH. This and Saint George to boot.

Dr. Johnson is undoubtedly right against both

his opponents, one of whom has adduced the phrase *St. George to borrow*, unintentionally in support of him. *To borrow* is no more a verb than *to boot*; it means *as a pledge or security*, *borrow* being the Saxon term for a *pledge*. The phrase is an invocation to the saint to act as a protector. *Saint George to thrive* is evidently a misconceived paraphrase of the old mode of expression, by improperly changing the substantive to a verb. Holinshed, in the speech of Richard before the battle, introduces "*St. George to borrowe*."

Sc. 3. p. 690.

K. RICH. Long kept in Bretagne at our *mother's* cost.

It has been already stated by Dr. Farmer that the mistake here of *mother* for *brother* must be placed to the account of the book which Shakspeare followed, viz. Holinshed's chronicle; but the doctor has omitted to notice that in the *first edition* of Holinshed the word is rightly printed *brother*. It is no otherwise worth while to mention this fact, than that it points out the particular edition of the above historian which Shakspeare used. Nothing can be more judicious nor decisive than Mr. Malone's argument for retaining

the historical errors of Shakspeare, and Mr. Ritson's desire of changing the text does not correspond with those principles of accuracy on which he laid so much stress.

Sc. 3. p. 691.

K. RICH. A *milksop* &c.

This is from Holinshed, "To begyn with the earle of Richmonde capitayne of this rebellion, he is a *Welsh milksoppe*," &c.



KING HENRY VIII.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 21.

Buck. ——— but this top-proud fellow
(Whom from the flow of gall I *name not*, but
From *sincere motions*)

Dr. Johnson explains *sincere motions* to be *honest indignation*; and, for *name not*, would substitute *blame not*. But is not the following the plain sense, without any alteration? “this top-proud fellow, whom I call so, not from an excess of bitterness, but from a genuine *impulse* of the mind.”

Sc. 1. p. 26.

Buck. I am the shadow of poor Buckingham,
Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on,
By dark'ning my clear sun.

It is no easy matter on some occasions to comprehend the precise meaning of Shakspeare's

metaphors, which are often careless and confused; and of this position the present lines are, doubtless, an example. We have here a double comparison. Buckingham is first made to say that he is but a shadow; in other terms, a dead man. He then adverts to the *sudden* cloud of misfortune that overwhelms him, and, like a shadow, obscures his prosperity.

Sc. 3. p. 42.

CHAM. Is it possible the spells of France should juggle
Men into such strange *mysteries*?

Dr. Johnson's explanation is much too fanciful.
Mysteries are *arts*, and here *artificial fashions*.

ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 71.

NOR. I'll venture one *have* at him.

The first folio reads "I'll venture one; *have* at him," and this, except as to the punctuation, is right. *Have at you* was a common phrase; it is used by Surrey in the ensuing act, and afterwards by Cromwell.

Sc. 2. p. 73.

CAM. ——— which so griev'd him, [Doctor Pace]
That he ran mad and died.

This is from Holinshed. "Aboute this time the king received into favor doctor Stephen Gardiner, whose service he used in matters of great secrecie and weichte, admitting him in the room of Doctor Pace, the which being continually abrode in ambassades, and the same oftentimes not much necessarie, by the Cardinales appointment, at length he toke such greefe therwith, that he fell out of his right wittes."

Sc. 3. p. 75.

ANNE. ——— 't is a sufferance panging
As soul and body's severing.

Of the parallel passages already cited, this is not the least so, from *Measure for measure* ;

"——— in *corporal sufferance* feels a *pang* as great
As when a giant dies.

Sc. 4. p. 98.

[*they rise to depart.*

Mr. Ridley's note is very judiciously introduced

to get rid of the interpolated stage direction inserted by some of the editors, and to account for the king's apostrophe to Cranmer. He might have adduced an earlier exemplification of his remark from the ensuing scene, where Norfolk asks, *when Cranmer returns?* The archbishop of Canterbury, who attends the procession to Blackfriars, was William Warham.

ACT III.

Scene 2. *Page 112.*

SUP. ——— I persuade me, from her
Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
In it be memoriz'd.

This is, no doubt, a compliment to queen Elizabeth.

Sc. 2. *p. 126.*

SUP. ——— I'll startle you
Worse than the sacring bell, when the brown wench
Lay kissing in your arms, lord cardinal.

Was there any Skeltonical tradition to this effect in Shakspeare's time, or has he only taken

a hint from one of the articles against Wolsey, which is conceived in the following terms? "Also the said Lord Cardinall did call before him Sir John Stanly knight which had taken a farm by Covent seal of the Abbot of Chester and afterwards by his power and might contrary to right committed the said Sir John Stanly to the prison of Fleet by the space of a year unto such time as he compelled the said Sir John to release his Covent seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which married one Lark's daughter, *which woman the said Lord Cardinall kept, and had with her two children,*" &c.

Sc. 2. p. 127.

SUR. First, that, without the king's assent, or knowledge,
You wrought to be a legate; by which power
You maim'd the jurisdiction of all bishops.

We have here in substance the first of the articles exhibited by the lords of the privy council and two of the judges against Wolsey. They had been unfaithfully recorded in some of our histories, but were at length printed by Lord Coke from the originals in his fourth Institute, chap. 8.

Sc. 2. p. 127.

NOR. Then, that, in all you writ to Rome, or else
To foreign princes, *Ego et rex meus*
Was still inscrib'd; in which you brought the king
To be your servant.

The nature of this supposed offence has been apparently misconceived by Shakspeare and others whom he might have followed. The original article against Wolsey, states, that "the Lord Cardinall of his presumptuous mind, in divers and many of his letters and instructions sent out of this realme to outward parts had joyned himself with your Grace, as in saying and writing, *The king and I would ye should do thus. The king and I doe give unto you our hearty thanks.* Whereby it is apparent that he used himself more like a fellow to your Highnes, then like a subject." Wolsey's crime therefore was not in degrading the king beneath himself, but in assuming a degree of consequence that seemed to place him on a level with his sovereign. The offensive language when put into Latin would be more striking and apt to deceive; but the idiom of the language required the above arrangement of the words.

Sc. 2. *p.* 128.

SUP. Then that without the knowledge
Either of king or council, when you went
Ambassador to the emperor, you made bold
To carry into Flanders the great seal.

SUR. Item, you sent a large commission
To Gregory de Cassalis, to conclude,
Without the king's will, or the state's allowance,
A league between his highness and Ferrara.

Both these charges seem included in the third article. "Also the said Lord Cardinall being your ambassador in France, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassalis under your great seale in your grace's name to conclude a treaty of amity with the Duke of Ferrara, without any commandment or warrant of your highnes, nor your said highnesse advertised or made privy to the same."

Sc. 2. *p.* 129.

SUP. That out of mere ambition you have caus'd
Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin.

An absurd and frivolous allegation against the unfortunate Cardinal, being the substance of the fortieth article. The episcopal privileges of

coining money had been long established, and were conceded in this reign to Bainbrigge and Lee the predecessor and successor of Wolsey, as well as to the archbishops of Canterbury, Warham and Cranmer. But the great offence was placing the *Cardinal's hat* under the king's arms, "which like deed," says the article, "hath not been seen to be done by any subject within your realm before this time." It may be asked how could it, Wolsey being the only English cardinal to whom the privilege of striking money had been granted? Nor could there be any substantial reason for regarding the cardinal's hat as more offensive than the bishop's mitre, which had already appeared on the coins of Durham.



Sc. 2. p. 129.

SUP. Lord Cardinal, the king's further pleasure is,—
 Because all those things, you have done of late
 By your power legatine within this kingdom,
 Fall into the compass of a *præmunire*,—
 That therefore such a writ be sued against you.

The poet was under the necessity of introducing the *præmunire* immediately after the articles; but we learn from Cavendish that "Maister Cromwell inveighed against the byll of articles with

such wittie persuasions and depe reasons that the same could take none effect. *Then were his enemyes constrained to indite him in a PREMUNIRE,*" &c.

Sc. 2. p. 131.

WOL. And when he falls, he falls like *Lucifer*.

Manifestly borrowed from that fine passage in *Isaiah*, xiv. ver. 12: "How art thou *fallen* from heaven, O *Lucifer* son of the morning!"

Sc. 2. p. 135.

WOL. And sleep in *dull cold* marble.

Mr. Gray seems to have remembered this line in his *elegy*,—

"Or flattery sooth the *dull cold* ear of death."

Sc. 2. p. 137. ●

WOL. Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal
I serv'd my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies.

Dr. Johnson remarks, that "this sentence was really uttered by Wolsey." The *substance* of it certainly was. The words themselves have been

preserved in the valuable Life of Wolsey by George Cavendish his gentleman usher, which Shakspeare might have used either in Stowe's chronicle or in manuscript; for several copies are still remaining that were transcribed in the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Malone has already taken due notice of their very superior value, and of the omissions and interpolations in the printed editions. In the latter, the work has been abridged of many details of great curiosity with respect to the manners of the times. A new and correct edition would be well deserving of the patronage of an enlightened public. The real words uttered by Wolsey were these; "Yf I hadd served God as diligently as I have done the kinge, he wolde not have geven me over in my graye heares."

ACT V.

Scene 3. Page 193.

MAN. — and hit that woman, who cry'd out, *Clubs!*

It has been observed, in illustration of this practice of crying out *clubs*, that it was usually adopted in any quarrel or tumult in the streets; but it remains to point out the persons that were

so called, because the watchmen's weapon was the *bill*. Stowe informs us, that "when prentizes and journeymen attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night, they went before them carrying a lanthorne and candle in their hands, and a *great long club on their neckes*." *Annales*, p. 1040, edit. 1631. The frequency of this exclamation in nocturnal quarrels might in process of time adapt the expression to general occasion.

Sc. 4. p. 199.

It is submitted that the stage exhibition of Elizabeth's christening should be conducted according to the curious and circumstantial details of the manner in which it was really performed, to be found in Halle's *Chronicle*, and copied from him by Stowe into his *Annales*.



TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

PROLOGUE.

———— Priam's six-gated city.

IN this, as well as in Dr. Farmer's subsequent note, it might have been better to have quoted Caxton's translation of the *Recuyles or destruction of Troy*, instead of *Lydgate*. In the edition of 1607 of the former work, which, in all probability, is that used by the author of the play, the gates of Troy are thus named; *Dardan, Timbria, Helias, Chetas, Troyen, Antenorides*. These are nearer to the text than those in the other quotation from Lydgate, whose work the author does not seem to have consulted. Should the curious reader be desirous of seeing the manner in which Troy was formerly represented, he may be gratified by an inspection of it in its full glory, the gates inscribed with their names, and

54 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

fortified with portcullises, in the edition of Jaques Milot's *Mystere de la destruction de Troye*, Lyon, 1544, folio ; or in Raoul le Fevre's *Recueil des hystoires Troyennes*, Lyon, 1510, folio. This was also a favourite subject in old tapestry, a very fine and ancient specimen of which remained a long time in the painted chamber that separates the two houses of parliament, till it was removed during the repairs of Saint Stephen's chapel for the accommodation of the Irish members. A copy of it was fortunately taken by that ingenious artist Mr. John Carter, draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 223.

TRO. Thou lay'st in every gash that love hath given me
The *knife* that made it.

When poets speak of the wounds inflicted by love, they generally make the instrument to be an *arrow* ; how a *knife* came here to be introduced is not easy to account for. Is it possible that our author has transposed the old saying that *a knife cuts love* ?

Sc. 3. p. 245.

Nest. ——— and, anon, behold
The strong ribb'd bark through liquid mountains
cut,
Bounding between the two moist elements,
Like *Perseus' horse*.

Mr. Steevens, admitting the curiosity of his colleague's note on this passage, is unwilling to allow that its design to prove the horse of *Perseus* a ship, and not an animal, has been accomplished. The learned editor observes, that "Shakspeare would not have contented himself with merely comparing one ship to another;" and that "unallegorized *Pegasus* might be fairly stiled *Perseus' horse*, because the heroism of *Perseus* had given him existence." That one thing is compared to another which resembles it, can surely be no solid objection to the justice of a comparison; and though the birth of the unallegorized *Pegasus* was doubtless the result of *Perseus's* bravery in conquering *Medusa*, it was incumbent on the objector to have demonstrated how this *horse of Perseus* had "bounded between two moist elements," to have made good the poet's comparison. There can be no doubt that the author of the simile has alluded to the fact concerning

56 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

the *ship* Pegasus adduced by Mr. Malone; and every thing leads to the supposition that he used the *authority* of Caxton's Troy book, though, as will be seen presently, *that* was not the most ancient of the kind.

It is undoubtedly a well justified poetical licence to compare a ship to a horse, on account of its speed. In the translation of an old Celtic ballad called *The maid's tragedy*, the monarch who pursues the flying damsel is sometimes said to traverse the waves on *an enchanted steed*; "which," say the Edinburgh reviewers, "probably arises from some equivocal expression in the original, as the Scalds term a ship the rider, and sometimes the horse of the ocean." *Edinb. review*, 1805, p. 439.

Mr. Malone has stated in the beginning of his valuable note, that "we no where hear of Perseus's horse;" and that "Pegasus was the property not of Perseus but of Bellerophon." This is not quite accurate. It is certain that *Ovid* has *not* mounted Perseus on any horse in his combat with the monster which was to devour Andromeda; and therefore it is matter of wonder that the mythological dictionary of Chompré, and particularly that most excellent one by Lempriere, should positively affirm that he has. This error

has been likewise adopted by other writers. But though classic authority be wanting that Perseus made use of a horse, Boccaccio in his *Genealogia Deorum*, lib. xii. c. 25, has quoted Lactantius as saying, that when Perseus undertook his expedition against Gorgon, at the instance of king Polydectus, he was accompanied by the winged horse Pegasus, but not that he used him in delivering Andromeda. Boccaccio adds that others were of opinion that he had a *ship* called Pegasus. The liberties which the old French translators of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have taken, and their interpolations, are unaccountable. Some have caused Perseus at the instant of his birth to bestride Pegasus, and travel away to Helicon. In the cuts to many of the early editions of Ovid, the designers have not only placed him on Pegasus in the adventure with Andromeda, but even in his attack upon Atlas. These facts may serve to account for the multiplied errors of artists, who, neglecting to consult proper authorities, have trusted to the erroneous examples of their predecessors. Achilles Tatius, in his third book of *The loves of Clitophon and Leucippe*, has described a picture of Perseus delivering Andromeda, in which he is made to descend by means of wings to his feet; and another on the same subject is spoken of by Lu-

58 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

cian in his description of a house. In neither of these is there any mention of a horse.

ACT II.

Scene 1. Page 276.

THEB. — an *assinego* may tutor thee.

Some doubt having arisen whether an *assinego* is an *ass* or an *ass-driver*, the following passages from Ligon's *History of Barbadoes*, 1673, will serve to decide the question in favour of the *four-legged animal*; and demonstrate at the same time that the above term is not exclusively applied to a male ass, as Mr. Ritson had supposed. "We found it was far better for a man that had money, goods, or credit, to purchase a plantation there ready furnish'd, and stockt with servants, slaves, horses, cattle, *assinigoes*, camels, &c." And again, "And though I found at Barbadoes some who had musical minds; yet I found others, whose souls were so fixt upon, and so riveted to the earth, and the profits that arise out of it, as their souls were lifted no higher; and those men think, and have been heard to say, that three whip-sawes going all at once in a frame or pit, is

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. 59

the best and sweetest musick that can enter their ears; and to hear a cow of their own low, or an *assinigo bray*, no sound can please them better," pp. 22, 107.

Sc. 3. p. 309.

ULYSSES. Praise him that got thee, *she* that gave thee suck.

This ungrammatical line, though perhaps the property of Shakspeare, might as well be corrected.

Sc. 3. p. 309.

ULYSSES. Let Mars divide eternity in twain
And give him half.

How Mars was to accomplish this, the metaphysicians must decide. The idea is an odd compound of grandeur and absurdity. It might have turned to some account in the hands of the ingenious Edgeworths.

ACT III.

Scene 2. Page 329.

CRESS. ——— For to be wise, and love,
Exceeds man's might; that dwells with gods above.
If this be Shakspeare's, he got it from Taver-

60 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

ner's translation of *Publius Syrus*, at the end of *Catonis disticha*, 1553, 12mo, where it stands thus, "To be in love and to be wyse is scarce graunted to God. It is not one man's propertie both to love and also to be of a sounde mynde."

Sc. 2. p. 333.

PAN. — let all pitiful *goers-between* be call'd to the world's end after my name, call them all *Pandars*.

Although the above is, no doubt, the real etymology of the word *pandar*, the original use of it does not rest with Shakspeare. An earlier instance occurs in Gabriel Harvey's *Pierce's supererogation*, 1593, 4to, in which "the pandars stew" is mentioned. All other derivations must be rejected, because the term occurs in no language but our own. Nashe, in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, has most extravagantly deduced it from *Pandora*; and he adds that Sir Philip Sidney fetches it from Plautus. In Sir Philip's *Defence of poesie*, the author, speaking of Terence's *Gnatho* and Chaucer's *Pandar*, says, "we now use their names to signifie their trades."

Sc. 3. p. 338.

CAL. ————— But this Antenor
I know is such a *wrest* in their affairs.

If a former explanation should be thought to stand in need of further authority, the following may suffice.

In *A treatise between trouth and information*, by W. Cornishe, printed among the works of Skelton, are these lines :

“ A harpe geveth sounde as it is sette,
The harper may *wrest* it untunablye ;
A harper with his *wrest* may tune the harpe wrong,
Mystunying of an instrument shal hurt a true songe.”

The same instrument was used for tuning other stringed instruments, as appears from the same poem :

“ The claricord hath a tunely kynde,
As the wyre is *wrested* hye and lowe ;
So it turnyth to the players mynde,
For as it is *wrested* so must it nedes showe,
Any instrument mystunyd shall hurt a trew song,
Yet blame not the claricord the *wrester* doth wrong.”

Again,

“ With golden strings such harmonie
His harpe so sweet did *wrest* ;

That he reliev'd his phrenesie
Whom wicked sprites possess."

Archb. Parker's *Psalter*, sign. B. 1. b.

In King James's edict against combats &c., p. 45, is this passage, "this small instrument the tongue being kept in tune by the *wrest* of awe," &c.

And in Swetnam's *Arraignment of women*, 1615, 4to, "They are always tempering their wits, as fiddlers do their strings, who *wrest* them so high, that many times they stretch them beyond time, tune, and reason."

ACT IV.

Scene 5. Page 383.

ULYSSES. ——— set them down
For sluttish spoils of opportunity,
And daughters of the game.

This expression seems borrowed from the *maister of the game*, the ancient title of the king's game-keeper. There was also a treatise on hunting, so called, which Shakspeare had often read of, or might perhaps have seen.

ACT V.**Scene 3. Page 425.**

Tro. Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you
Which better fits a *lion*, than a man.

See a preceding note in vol. i. p. 307, 308.

Sc. 9. p. 444.

Hect. I am unarm'd; forego this vantage, Greek.

The author of this play, in his account of the death of Hector, has, undoubtedly, departed from his original; and, as it should seem, without necessity. Mr. Steevens, on this occasion, takes notice of *Lydgate's* vehement reprehension of Homer's praise of Achilles, and of his gross violation of the characters drawn by the Grecian poet; but he has censured the wrong person. Lydgate has only followed his predecessor Guido of Colonna, who, (or perhaps the original writer Benoit de Saint More,) adopting the statement in the prologue to Dares Phrygius, appears to regard the latter as a more correct and veracious historian than Homer.

84 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

Sc. 9. p. 451.

PAM. Some *galled* goose of *Winchester* would hiss.

If Mr. Mason had accidentally consulted the English part of Littelton's excellent dictionary, he would not have doubted that "any symptom of the venereal disease was called a Winchester goose."

ON THE STORY OF THIS PLAY.

Of Lollius, the supposed inventor of this story, it will become every one to speak with diffidence. Until something decisive relating to him shall occur, it is better to conclude with Mr. Tyrwhitt, that Chaucer borrowed the greatest part of his admirable story from Boccaccio's *Philostrato*; and that he either invented the rest altogether, or obtained it from some completer copy of the *Philostrato* than that which we now possess. What Dryden has said of Lollius is entirely destitute of proof, and appears to be nothing more than an inference from Chaucer's own expressions.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. 65

It would be a matter of extreme difficulty to ascertain, with any sort of precision, when and in what manner the story of Troilus and Cressida first made its appearance. Whether the author of the Philostrato was the first who detailed it so minutely as it is there found, remains to be decided ; but it is certain that so much of it as relates to the departure of Cressida from Troy, and her subsequent amour with Diomed, did exist long before the time of Boccaccio. The work in which it is most known at present is the *Troy book* of Guido of Colonna, composed in 1287, and, *as he states*, from Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, neither of whom mentions the name of Cressida. Mr. Tyrwhitt, as it has eventually proved, had, with his usual penetration and critical acuteness, suspected that Guido's Dares was in reality an old Norman French poet named *Benoit de Saint More*, who wrote in the reign of our Henry the Second, and who himself made use of Dares. This work seems to be the earliest authority now remaining. The task which Mr. Tyrwhitt had declined, has on this occasion been submitted to ; and the comparison has shown that Guido, whose performance had long been regarded as original, has only translated the Norman writer into Latin. It is most probable

that he found *Benoit's* work when he came into England, as he is recorded to have done ; and that pursuing a practice too prevalent in the middle ages, he dishonestly suppressed the mention of his real original. What has been advanced by Mr. Warton and some other writers respecting an old French romance under the name of Troilus and Cressida will not carry the story a moment higher ; because this French romance is in fact nothing more than a much later performance, about the year 1400, compiled by *Pierre de Beauvau* from the Philostrato itself. This has been strangely confounded with several other French works on the Troy story related with great variety of circumstance, all or most of which were modelled on that of Guido of Colonna or his original ; citing, as they had done, the supposititious histories of Dictys and Dares. It is worth while to embrace this opportunity of mentioning, for the first time, that there is a *prose* French version of *Benoit's* metrical romance ; but when made, or by whom, does not appear in a MS. of it transcribed at Verona in 1320.

Lydgate professedly followed Guido of Colonna, occasionally making use of and citing other authorities. In a short time afterwards

Raoul le Fevre compiled from various materials his *Recueil des histoires de Troye*, which was translated into English and published by Caxton; but neither of these authors has given more of the story of Troilus and Cressida than any of the other romances on the war of Troy; Lydgate contenting himself with referring to Chaucer. Of *Raoul le Fevre's* work, often printed, there is a fine MS. in the British museum, Bibl. Reg. 17, E. II., under the title of *Hercules*, that must have belonged to Edward the Fourth, in which *Raoul's* name is entirely and unaccountably suppressed. The above may serve as a slight sketch of the romances on the history of the wars of Troy; to describe them all particularly would fill a volume.

It remains to inquire concerning the materials that were used in the construction of this play. Mr. Steevens informs us that Shakspeare received the greatest part of them from the *Troy book of Lydgate*. It is presumed that the learned commentator would have been nearer the fact had he substituted the *Troy book or recueyl* translated by Caxton from *Raoul le Fevre*; which, together with a translation of Homer, supplied the incidents of the Trojan war. Lydgate's work was becoming obsolete, whilst the other was at this

68 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

time in the prime of its vigour. From its first publication to the year 1619, it had passed through six editions, and continued to be popular even in the eighteenth century. Mr. Steevens is still less accurate in stating *Le Fevre's* work to be a translation from Guido of Colonna; for it is only in the latter part that he has made any use of him. Yet Guido actually had a French translator before the time of Raoul; which translation, though never printed, is remaining in MS. under the whimsical title of "*La vie de la piteuse destruction de la noble et supellative cité de Troye le grant. Translatée en Francois lan mccccxxx;*" and at the end it is called "*Listoire tres plaisant de la destruction de Troye la grant.*" Such part of our play as relates to the loves of Troilus and Cressida was most probably taken from Chaucer, as no other work, accessible to Shakspeare, could have supplied him with what was necessary.



TIMON OF ATHENS.

ACT I.

Scene 1. *Page 431.*

Enter APEMANTUS.

“SEE this character of a cynic finely drawn by Lucian in his *Auction of the philosophers*; and how well Shakspeare has *copied* it,” says Dr. Warburton; who took it for granted that our author could read Lucian *out of English*. Until this can be proved, or that any English translation of the above piece existed in Shakspeare’s time, we are at liberty to doubt how far Apemantus is a copy from Lucian, or rather to believe that he is a highly finished portrait after a very slight sketch by Plutarch.

ACT IV.

Scene 3. *Page 587.*

TIM. She, [her] whom the spital-house and ulçerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
To the *April day* again.

It had been better to have withdrawn Dr. John.

son's note, for he has entirely misconceived the meaning of this part of Timon's speech. He has mistaken the *person* who was to be *embalmed to the April day again*, and supposed, without reason, that the wedding day is here called *April* or *fools day*. Mr. Tollett has already corrected the first of these errors, and properly explained the *April day* to mean the *freshness* of youth. See a description of April from an old calendar in vol. i. p. 72. The word *day* in this instance is equivalent with *time*.

Sc. 3. p. 593.

TIM. To the *tub-fast* and the *diet*.

What this *diet* was may be seen at large in Dr. Bullein's *Bulwarke of defence*, fo. 57 b. and in his *Booke of compoundes*, fo. 42, 43.

In a former note a conclusion was too hastily drawn concerning the origin of *Cornelius's tub*. It was stated that it took its name from the hero of Randolph's pleasant comedy of *Cornelianum dolium*; but the term is much older, being mentioned in Lodge's *Wit's miserie*, 1599, 4to, sig. F iij b. Its origin therefore remains in a state of uncertainty; for what Davenant has left us in his *Platonick lover*, can only be regarded as a piece of pleasantry.

SCIOLE. As for *Diogenes* that fasted much, and took his habitation in a tub, to make the world believe he lov'd a strict and severe life, he took the diet, sir, and in that very tub swet for the French disease.

FRED. And some unlearned apothecary since, mistaking 's name, call'd it *Cornelius tub*. Act iii.

There is yet another passage which may be worth inserting, as it throws a gleam of light on this obscure term. It is from *The law of drinking*, 1617, 12mo, p. 55. "Like ivie they cling close about *Cornelius' bulke*; till sleepe surprize them, oblivion divide them, and *brave Cornelius* guide them to his *tub*."

Sc. 3. p. 624.

TIM. The sea 's a thief, whose liquid surge resolves
The moon into salt tears.

Some difficulty has arisen in the course of the notes on this passage to account for the manner in which the sea could despoil the moon of its moisture and change it into saline tears. It has been judiciously remarked by one of the commentators, that we are not to attend on these occasions merely to philosophical truth, but to consider what might have been the received or vulgar notions of the time: yet no example of such notions applicable to the present occasion has

been produced. The following may perhaps serve to supply this defect, and to establish at the same time the genuineness of the text: "The moone gathereth deawe in the aire, for she printeth the vertue of hir moysture in the aire, and chaungeth the ayre in a manner that is unseene, and breedeth and gendereth deawe in the utter part thereof." Bartholomæus *De propriet. rerum*, lib. viii. c. 29.

ACT V.

Scene 5. Page 658.

ALCIB. Here lies a *wretched* corse &c.

There is a *fourth* epitaph on Timon, which is scarcely worth mentioning, but as it perhaps completes the list, and might even, as well as that in Kendal and Painter, have suggested the slight alteration made by Shakspeare. It is in Pettie's translation of Guazzo's *Civile conversacion*, 1586, 4to, fo. 5, as follows;

" Here doe I lie, ne am the same
 I heretofore was wont to bee;
 Thou reader never aske my name,
 A *wretched* end God send to thee."

THE FOOL.

THE fool in this play is a very obscure and insignificant character. Dr. Johnson's conjecture that he belongs to one of Alcibiades's mistresses is extremely probable. Many ancient prints conduce to show that women of this description were attended by buffoons; and there is good reason for supposing, partly from the same kind of evidence, that in most brothels such characters were maintained to amuse the guests by their broad jokes and seasonable antics. In *Measure for measure* we have such a person, who is also a tapster; and in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act i. Sc. I, we hear of a *strumpet's fool*.

The dress, in the present instance, should be a party-coloured garment, with a hood and asses' ears, and a cock's comb. He might also carry a bauble.

CORIO LANUS.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 12.

MEN. Even to the court, the heart,—to the seat o' the brain.

MR. MALONE has most ingeniously shown that the *heart* here signifies the *seat of the brain*, that is, of the understanding; and this is conformable to the old philosophy. Thus our English Pliny, Bartholomew Glanville, informs us, from Aristotle, that the substance of the brain being cold, it is placed before the well of heat, which is, the heart; and that small veins proceed from the heart, of which is made a marvellous caul wherein the brain is wrapped. *De propr. rerum*, lib. v. c. 3. On this ground, the heart has been very appositely made the seat of reason; and accordingly in another place, Glanville tells us that in the heart is “all business and knowing.”

If the above able commentator be right in his chronology of this play, and there appears to be

~~No~~ reason for doubting that he is so, the present lines must have been imitated by a contemporary writer of great ability and poetical talents, though undeservedly obscure. This is W. Parkes, who calls himself a student of ~~Bar-~~hard's inn. In his work entitled *The curtaine-drawer of the world*, 1612, 4to, he has two passages which bear so strong a resemblance, that a mere coincidence of thought is entirely out of the question. This is the first, in p. 6. "If any vice arise from the court, as from the head, it immediately discends to the cittie, as the heart, from thence drawes downe to the country, as the heele: and so like an endlesse issue or theame, runs through the whole land." The other is in p. 13. "For whereas that member was ordained for a light and window, and as a true interpreter to expresse and expound the consultations, and counsels, and purposes of that hidden dumbe and secret privy-councellour that sits within the throne and breast and bosome of every living man, it many times doth belye, and forge, and flatter, and speaks then most faire when the deepest deceit and treachery is intended: not the foot, nor the finger, nor the whole hand: no not the whole body, nor all the members thereof, either severally, by themselves, or joyntly together (this one

only excepted) that doth so stretch, and draw, and finger, and fold and unfold this curtaine or canopy to the daily use and deceit of itselfe and others, as it alone doth."

It is rather extraordinary that none of Shakspeare's commentators should have noticed the skilful manner in which he has diversified and expanded the well known apologue of *the belly and the members*, the origin of which it may be neither unentertaining nor unprofitable to investigate, as well as the manner in which it has been used, and by whom.

The composition has been generally ascribed to Menenius Agrippa; but as it occurs in a very ancient collection of *Æsopian* fables, there may be as much reason for supposing it the invention of *Æsop* as there is for making him the parent of many others. The first person who has introduced Menenius as reciting this fable is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, book 6. Then follow Livy, lib. 2; Plutarch, in the life of Coriolanus; Florus, lib. 1. cap. 23; each of whom gives it in his own manner. During the middle ages there appeared a collection of Latin fables in hexameter verse, that has agitated the opinions of the learned to little purpose in their endeavours to ascertain the real name of the compiler or versifier. He has been

called Romulus, Accius and Salo. Nor is the time when he lived at all known. These fables are sometimes called *anonymous*, and have been published in various forms. An excellent edition by Nilant appeared in 1709, 12mo. Many of them were translated into French verse in the eleventh century by a French lady who calls herself *Marie de France*, in which form they have been happily preserved with many others extremely curious composed by the same ingenious person, on whose life and writings a most valuable memoir has been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by the author's truly learned and amiable friend the Abbé Gervase de la Rue, professor of history in the university of Caen. William Herman of Gouda, in Holland, reduced them into Latin prose about the year 1500, omitting some, and adding others. The works of Romulus and Herman of Gouda, have been published in a great variety of forms and languages, and constitute the set of *Æsopian* fables which commences with that of the cock and the precious stone; in all which the apologue of the belly and the members is to be found, and sometimes with considerable variation. What Camden has given is from John of Salisbury, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, and professes to have received it

from Pope Hadrian IV. See his *Polycraticon, sive de nugis curialium*, l. vi. c. 24. Camden has omitted the latter part; and the learned reader will do well to consult the original, where he will find some verses by Q. Serenus Sammonicus, a physician in the reign of Caracalla, that allude to the fable. John of Salisbury has himself composed two hundred Latin lines *De membris conspirantibus*, which are in the first edition of his *Polycraticon* printed at Brussels, without date, about 1470. These were reprinted by Andreas Rivinus at Leipsic, 1655, 8vo; and likewise at the end of the fourth volume of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca mediæ et infimæ ætatis*, Hamburg, 1735, 8vo. They are, most probably, the lines which are called in Sinner's catalogue of the MSS. at Berne, "*Carmen Ovidii de altercatione ventris et artuum*," vol. iii. p. 116. Nor was this fable unknown in the Eastern world. Syntipas, a Persian fabulist, has placed it in his work, published, for the first time, from a MS. at Moscow, by Matthæus. Lips. 1781, 8vo. Lafontaine has related it in his own inimitable manner; and, lastly, the editor of Baskerville and Dodsley's *Æsop* has given it in a style not inferior perhaps to that of any of his predecessors.

Sc. 4. p. 35.

MAR. All the contagion of the *south* light on you.

See the note on Caliban's similar wish, "A *south-west* blow on you," in vol. i. p. 9.

ACT II.

Scene 1. Page 77.

BRU. The *napless* vesture of humility.

"The players read the *Naples*," says Mr. Steevens; but the players are right, and the fault was with the printer in giving the word with a capital letter. The termination *less* in old books is very frequently spelled with a single *s*; so that Mr. Rowe's change scarcely deserves the name of *a* correction.

ACT IV.

Sc. 1. Page 159.

COR. I shall be lov'd when I am lack'd.

Thus Cæsar in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act i.

Sc. 4, "And the ebb'd man comes dear'd by being lack'd." We have still preserved this proverbial saying in another form. Mother Cole says, "when people are miss'd, then they are mourn'd." It is, in fact, Horace's "*extinctus amabitur idem.*"



JULIUS CÆSAR.

ACT I.

Scene 2. *Page 254.*

CAS. Now is it Rome indeed, and *room* enough.

THIS jingle of words is deserving of notice on no other account than as it shows the pronunciation of *Rome* in Shakspeare's time.

Sc. 3. *p. 266.*

CAS. Why old men fools, and children calculate.

In this manner has the former punctuation of the line, which had a comma after *men*, been disturbed at the suggestion of Sir W. Blackstone, and thereby rendered extremely uncouth if not unintelligible. He observes that there is no prodigy in old men's calculating from their past experience; but the poet means old dotards in a second state of childhood. With the supposed power of divination in *fools*, few are unacquaint-

ed. He that happens to be so may consult the popular history of Nixon, the Cheshire prophet.

ACT II.

Scene 2. *Page 299.*

CAL. When beggars die, there are no comets seen ;
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of
princes.

This might have been suggested by what Suetonius has related of the blazing star which appeared for seven days together, during the celebration of games instituted by Augustus in honour of Julius. The common people believed that this comet indicated his reception among the gods ; and not only his statues were accordingly ornamented with its figure, but medals were struck on which it was represented. One of these, struck by Augustus, is here exhibited.



Pliny relates that a comet appeared before the death of Claudius, lib. ii. c. 25; and Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of one that preceded the death of Aurelius Ambrosius; but the comets would have appeared though the men had not died, and the men would not have lived longer had the comets never been seen.

Sc. 2. p. 300.

SER. Plucking the entrails of an offering forth
They could not find a heart within the beast.

CÆS. The gods do this in shame of cowardice:
Cæsar should be a beast without a heart,
If he should stay at home to day, for fear.

Dr. Johnson remarks on this occasion, that
“the ancients did not place courage in the heart.”
He had forgotten his classics strangely.

“Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.”

Æn. vi. 261.

“————— Juvenes, fortissima frustra
Pectora ———.”

Æn. ii. 263.

“———Teucrûm minantur inertia corda.”

Æn. ix. 55.

“————— excute, dicens,

Corde metum ———.” Ovid. *Metam.* lib. iii. 689.

“Corda pavent comitum, mihi mens interrita mansit.”

Ovid. *Metam.* lib. xv. 514.

"*Cor pavet admonitu temeratae sanguine noctis.*"

Ovid. *Epist.* xiv. 16.

"*Nescio quæ pavidum frigora pectus habent.*"

Ovid. *Epist.* xix. 192.

ACT III.

Scene 1. *Page 329.*

ANT. ————— for mine eyes,
 Seeing those beads of sorrow stand in thine,
 Began to water.

We have a similar expression in *The tempest*,
 Act v. Sc. 1., where Prospero says,

"Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,
 Mine eyes even sociable to the shew of thine,
 Fall fellowly drops."



ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 410.

ANT. Let Rome in Tiber melt ! and the *wide arch*
Of the *rang'd* empire fall ! Here is my space.

As *range* signifies *compass*, *extent*, so the verb seems to be used, rather licentiously, in the present instance, in the sense of *spread*, *extended*. It may be doubted, at least, whether there be any allusion to a triumphal arch, as Dr. Warburton supposed, or even of a fabric standing on pillars, according to Dr. Johnson. The *wide arch* may refer to the vast concave of the Roman world, its wide domains covered by *the arch of heaven*, which has been beautifully styled by some oriental writer "the star-built arch of heaven." See *The tales of Inatulla* by Dow, vol. i. p. 78.

 Sc. 3. p. 440.

CLEO. O my oblivion is a very Antony
And I am *all* forgotten.

She compares her memory to Antony, and says she is treacherously abandoned and neglected by *both*. Mr. Steevens's explanation of the first line is satisfactory; but one cannot well agree with him or Mason, that "I am all forgotten" can possibly mean, "I forget myself, or every thing."

 ACT II.

Scene 4. Page 490.

ANT. ——— and his quails
Ever beat mine, *incoop'd* at odds.

It may be doubted whether quail-fighting was practised in Shakspeare's time, though Dr. Farmer appears to have thought so; but when our poet speaks of their being *incoop'd*, he might suppose that Cæsar's or Antony's quails, which he found in Plutarch, were trained to battle like game cocks in a *ring* or *circle*. Hanmer plausibly reads *incoop'd*, but no change is necessary.

Quail combats were well known among the ancients, and especially at Athens. Julius Pollux relates that a circle was made in which the birds were placed, and he whose quail was driven out of this circle lost the stake, which was sometimes money, and occasionally the quails themselves. Another practice was to produce one of these birds, which being first smitten or filliped with the middle finger, a feather was then plucked from its head: if the quail bore this operation without flinching, his master gained the stake, but lost it if he ran away. The Chinese have been always extremely fond of quail-fighting, as appears from most of the accounts of that people, and particularly in Mr. Bell's excellent relation of his travels to China, where the reader will find much curious matter on the subject. See vol. i. p. 424, edit. in 8vo. We are told by Mr. Marsden that the Sumatrans likewise use these birds in the manner of game cocks. The annexed copy from an elegant Chinese miniature painting represents some ladies engaged at this amusement, where the quails are actually *in hoop'd*.

Sc. 5. p. 493.

CHAR. ——— 'T was merry, when
You wager'd on your angling; when your diver

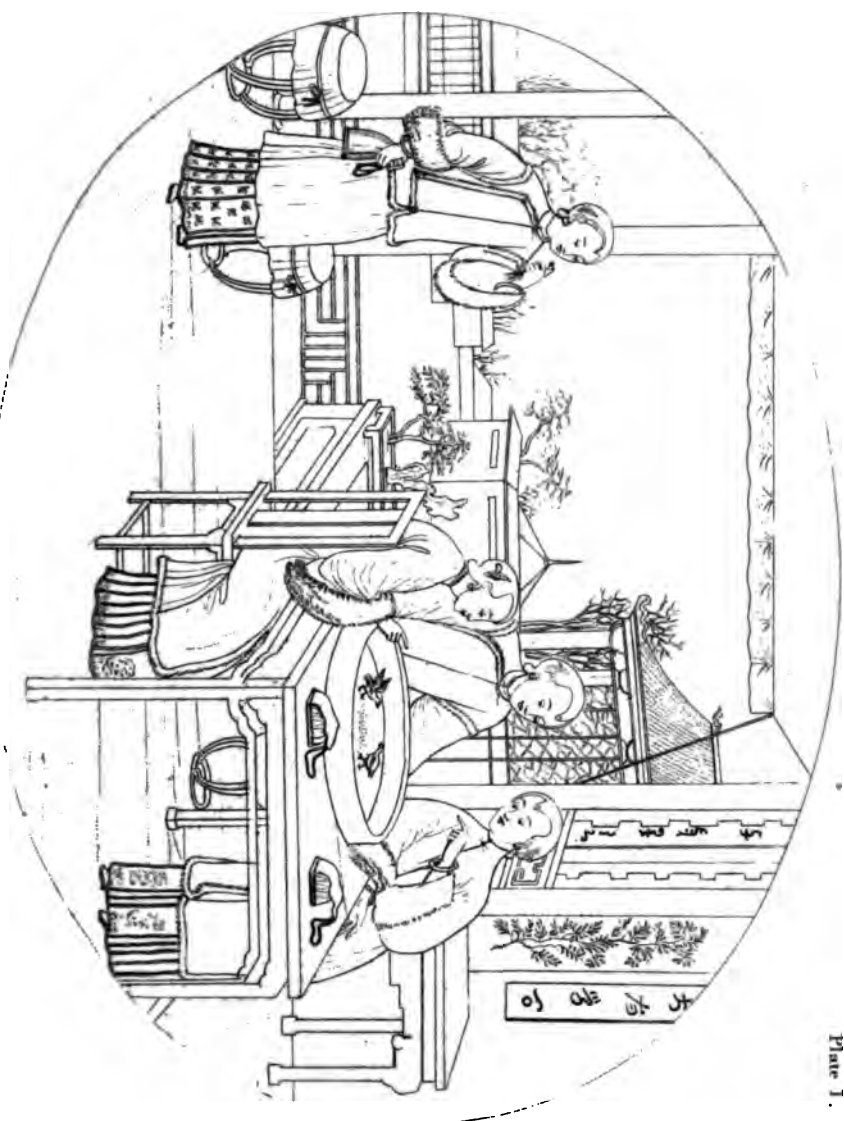
88 ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Did hang a salt-fish on his hook, which he
With fervency drew up.

This incident, which, as Mr. Steevens has already remarked, was borrowed from Plutarch, probably suggested a story related by Nashe, "of a scholler in Cambridge, that standing angling on the towne bridge there, as the country people on the market day passed by, secretly bayted his hooke wyth a red herring wyth a bell about the necke, and so conveying it into the water that no man perceived it, all on the sodayn, when he had a competent throng gathered about hym, up he twicht it agayne, and layd it openly before them, whereat the gaping rurall fooles, driven into no lesse admiration than the common people about London some few yeares since were at the bubbling of Moore-ditch, sware by their christendomes that as many dayes and yeeres as they had lived, they never saw such a myracle of a red herring taken in the fresh water before."

Lenten stuffe, or praise of the red herring, 1599, 4to, p. 60. But Cleopatra's trick was of a different nature. Antony had fished unsuccessfully in her presence, and she had laughed at him. The next time therefore he directed the boatman to dive under the water and attach a fish to his hook. The queen perceived the stratagem, but

Plate 1.





ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. 89

affecting not to notice it, congratulated him on his success. Another time, however, she determined to laugh at him once more, and gave orders to her own people to get the start of his divers, and put some dried *salt-fish* on his hook.

Sc. 5. p. 499.

CLXO. Some innocents 'scape not the thunder-bolt.

This alludes to a superstitious notion among the ancients, that they who were stricken with lightning were honoured by Jupiter and therefore to be accounted holy. Their bodies were supposed not to putrify; and after having been shown for a certain time to the people, were not burned in the usual manner, but buried on the spot where the lightning fell, and a monument erected over them. Some, however, held a contrary opinion. See the various notes on the line in Persius,

“ Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bidental,” *Sat. ii.*

The ground also that had been smitten by a thunderbolt was accounted sacred, and afterwards inclosed: nor did any one presume to walk on it. This we learn from Festus, “ fulguritum, id quod est fulmine ictum; qui locus statim fieri

90 ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

putabatur religiosus, quod eum Deus sibi dicasse videretur." These places were therefore consecrated to the gods, and could not in future become the property of any one.

Sc. 7. p. 512.

2. SER. I had as lief have a reed that will do me no service, as a *partizan* I could not heave.

Dr. Johnson says the *partizan* is a pike, and so say many of our dictionaries ; but it was in reality a weapon between a pike and a halbert. Not being so long as the former, it was made use of in trenches, in mounting a breach, and in attacking or defending a lodgment; on all which occasions the pike would have been unmanageable. Its upper extremity resembled that of a halbert, but was longer and broader. In more modern times it wanted the cutting axe which belongs to the halbert, though in that used by the old Switzers and Germans it seems to have had it. The etymology of the word has been much controverted, but appears to lie between the Latin *pertica* and the German *bart*, an axe, whence *bardi*ke, a little axe. Shakspeare himself has distinguished it from the pike, "Let us make

him with our *pikes and partizans* a grave." *Cymbeline*, Act iv. Sc. 2.

Sc. 7. p. 518.

Exo. Drink thou; increase the *reels*.

Here is some corruption, and unless it was originally *revels*, the sense is irretrievable. In all events Mr. Steevens has erred in saying that "*reel* was not in our author's time, employed to signify a dance." The following passage in a book with which the learned editor was well acquainted, and which had escaped his excellent memory, proves the contrary. "Agnis Tompson was after brought againe before the king's majestie and confessed that upon the night of All-hollon even last, she was accompanied with a great many witches to the number of two hundred; and that all they together went by sea each one in a riddle or cive, and went in the same very substantially with flaggons of wine making merrie and drinking by the waye in the same riddles or cives, to the kerke of North Barrick in Lowthian, and that after they had landed, tooke hands on the land, and daunced this *reill or short daunce*, singing all with one voice,

"Commer goe ye before, commer goe ye,

Gif ye will not goe before, commer let me."

92 ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

At which time she confessed, that Geilles Duncane did goe before them playing this *reill* or *daunce* upon a small trump, call a Jewes trump, untill they entered into the kerk of North Barrick." *Newes from Scotland declaring the damnable life and death of doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in January last, 1591, sign. B iij.*

ACT III.

Scene 6. Page 543.

CÆs. ————— The wife of Antony
Should have an army for an *usher*.

An *usher* is a person who introduces others ceremoniously, though originally a door-keeper, from the French *huissier*, and that from *huis*, *ostium*. This is no otherwise worth the mention, than to mark the corrupt orthography of the word, which ought to be written *husher*. Thus Spenser,

"A gentle *husher*, vanitie by name,
Made roome, and passage for them did prepare."

Fairy queen, B. i. Canto. 4, st. 13.

Cavendish the servant of Cardinal Wolsey, speaking of his master's arrest by the Earl of

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. 93

Northumberland, says, "he toke the Earle by the hande, and led him in to his bed-chamber. And they being there all alone, save onely I *who kept the dore according to my dutye, being gentleman ussher, &c.*" Life of Wolsey, MS.

Sc. 6. p. 544.

CÆs. ——— and have prevented
The *ostent* of our love.

Mr. Steevens, in claiming the merit of this necessary change from *ostentation*, had forgotten that it had been already made by Sir Thomas Hanmer.

Sc. 6. p. 544.

CÆs. ——— Which soon he granted,
Being an *obstruct* 'tween his lust and him.

The change was made by Dr. Warburton from *abstract*, which he declares to be absurd; but, as an eminent critic has remarked, it has been made very unnecessarily. The canon somewhere laid down, viz. that where the old text is capable of a meaning, no alteration should be hazarded, ought to have been observed in this instance. The sense is obviously, "Octavia drew

94 ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

away or *abstracted* Cleopatra from Antony," and she might therefore be very properly called in Shakspeare's bold language, an *abstract*.

Another reason for retaining the old reading is, that, generally speaking, Dr. Warburton's *emendations* are inadmissible.

Sc. 11. p. 587.

ANT. If from the field I shall return once more
To kiss these lips, I will appear in blood—
I will be treble-sinew'd, hearted, breath'd,
And fight maliciously : for when mine hours
Were *nice* and lucky, men did ransom lives
Of me for jests—

The word *nice*, sometimes used by Shakspeare in a sense bordering on that of *amorous* or *wanton*, seems in the present instance to have precisely that meaning. Antony says that his former *luxurious* hours with Cleopatra were fortunate to those who asked his favours, but that now he will appear in blood. The historian Stowe, in recording an accident that happened to one Mary Breame in the year 1583, says that she "had beene *accused* by her husband to bee a *nice woman of her body*." We have also an old play entitled *The nice wanton*.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. 95

Sc. 11. p. 589.

ENO. ——— and in that mood,
The dove will peck the *estridge*.

i. e. the *falcon*. See the note in vol. i. p. 435, &c.

ACT IV.

Scene 9. Page 611.

1. SOLD. ——— so bad a prayer
Was never yet for *sleeping*.

2. SOLD. Go we to him.

In the old copy *sleep*. The alteration is by Mr. Steevens, and, as he says, for the sake of *measure*; but that was already complete. The *harmony* is certainly improved, as the accent is to be laid on *to* in the ensuing line.

Sc. 12. p. 624.

ANT. My good *knave*, Eros, now thy captain is
Even such a body: here I am Antony;
Yet cannot hold this visible shape, my *knave*.
I made these wars for Egypt; and the *queen*,—
Whose *heart*, I thought, I had, for she had mine;
—— she, Eros, has
Pack'd cards with Cæsar, and false play'd my glory
Unto an enemy's *triumph*.

One should really suppose that Shakspeare had written this speech just after having lost a game at cards, and before the manner in which it had been played was out of his mind. Dr. Warburton's explanation is too superficial to merit the commendation which Dr. Johnson has bestowed on it. That of Mr. Malone is much more judicious and satisfactory; but it has not been perceived that a marked and particular allusion is intended. This is to the old card game of *trump*, which bore a very strong resemblance to our modern whist. It was played by two against two, and sometimes by three against three. It is thus mentioned in *Gammer Gurton's needle*, Act ii. Sc. 2. "We be fast set at *trump* man, hard by the fire;" and likewise in Dekkar's *Belman of London*, among other card games. In Eliot's *Fruits for the French*, 1593, p. 53, it is called "a verie common alehouse game in England;" and Rice, in his *Invective against vices*, 12mo, b. l. n. d. but printed before 1600, speaking of sharpers' tricks at cards, mentions "renouncyng the *trompe* and comming in againe." The Italians call it *trionphetto*; see Florio's dictionary. In Capitolo's poem on *Primero*, another card game, 1526, 8vo, it is called *trionfi*, and consigned to the peasants. Minshew, in his

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. 97

Spanish dialogues, p. 25, makes it a game for old men. We, in all probability, received it from the French *triomphe*, which occurs in Rabelais as one of Gargantua's games. The term indicates a winning or *triumphant* card; and therefore there can be no pretence for deriving it from *tromper*, whatever Ben Jonson might have thought to the contrary, who, in reality, seems only to indulge in a pun upon the word.

Sc. 12. p. 627.

ANT. I will o'ertake thee, Cleopatra, and
Weep for my pardon. So it must be, for now
All *length* is torture.

Mr. Steevens suspects that the author wrote *life*; surely without reason. Length is *extension* or *protraction of life*.

THE CLOWN.

He is a mere country fellow; but Shakspeare, in compliance with the usual expectations of the audience, has bestowed on him a due portion of wit and satire.

CYMBELINE.

ACT I.

Scene 2. Page 18.

Imo. ————— he is
A man worth any woman; overbuys me
Almost the sum he pays.

THIS has already been so ingeniously interpreted, that there is considerable hazard in the offer of any other conjecture on the subject; yet, may not Imogen mean, “the possession of me is much too dearly bought by the *banishment* to which you sentence him; he has almost nothing for so large a price.”

Sc. 5. p. 27.

Enter PHILARIO, IACHIMO &c.

Mr. Malone having shown that this name is borrowed from the Italian *Giacomo*, it should be printed *Jachimo*, in order to prevent any mistake in the pronunciation.

 ACT II.
Scene 2. *Page 65.*

IMO. From fairies and the tempters of the night,
Guard me, beseech ye!

See vol. i. p. 207.

Sc. 3. *p. 72.*

Hark, hark, the lark at heaven's gate sings.

The frequent mention of the lark, especially among our older poets, has been already exemplified in a variety of corresponding passages with the above, which either Shakspeare might have imitated, or which are imitations from him. To these the following may be added.

"On morowe tho the dai sprong
And the larke bigan her song."

Romance of Sir Otuel. MS.

"Even at the twelyght in the dawninge
Whan the larke of custome gynneth synge
For to salve in her heavenly laye
The lusty goddess of the morowe graye."

Lydgate's Siege of Troye, B. i.

" When the larke messenger of day
Of custome aye Aurora doth saluē,
With sondry notes hir sorowe to transmue,
Or Phebus ryse to joye and gladnesse."

Lydgate's Sege of Troye, B. iii.

" Upsprang the golden candle matutyne,
With cleir depurit bemys chrystallyne,
Glading the mirry fowlis in thair nest:
Or Phebus was in purpoure kaip reveat
Upsprang the lark, the hevne's mynstral syne
In may intill a morrow mirth fullest."

Dunbar's Golden terge.

" With merry note her loud salutes the mounting lark."
Spenser's Fairy queen, B. I. Canto xi. st. 51.

" Early, cheerful, mounting lark,
Light's gentle usher, morning's clerk,
In merry notes delighting;
Stunt awhile thy song, and hark,
And learn my new inditing

" Bear up this hymn, to heav'n it bear
E'en up to heav'n, and sing it there," &c.

Davies's Acrostick hymns, 1599.

" ————— and then my state,
(Like to the lark, at break of day arising
From sullen earth) sings hymns at heaven's gate."

Shakspeare's 29th Sonnet.

" The larke that left her food, her nest, her yong,
And early mounting, first with her sweet song
Saluted heaven."

Niccolls's London artillery, 1616, 4to.

" And the lark from out the furrow,
Soars upright on matin wings,
And at the gate of heaven sings."

Penshurst. In Doddsley's collection, vol. iv.

Sc. 4. p. 88.

IACH. The roof o' the chamber
With *golden cherubims* is fretted; her andirons
(I had forgot them) were two winking Cupids
Of silver, each on one foot standing, nicely
Depending on their brands.

Mr. Steevens calls the *golden cherubims* a tawdry image, and proceeds, justly enough, to ridicule an idle representation of the heavenly choirs; but the poet must be cleared from any imputation of blame. He is not accountable for the fashions or follies of his age, and has, in this instance, given a faithful description of the mode in which the rooms in great houses were sometimes ornamented. That *brands* were those parts of the andirons which supported the wood, according to Mr. Whalley, remains to be proved. The Cupids would not lean or hang over these bars, but rather stand with their faces turned from them, and opposite to the spectator. The brands are more likely to have been the inverted torches mentioned by Mr. Steevens.

 Sc. 5. *p.* 94.

Post. Me of my lawful pleasure she restrain'd,
 And pray'd me, oft, forbearance : did it
 With a pudency so rosy, &c.

A useless note on this speech, which would make our poet equally vulgar and obscene, when he was expressing a sentiment of the most refined delicacy, may be well dispensed with in any future edition.

ACT III.

Scene 1. *Page* 99.

Cym. Our ancestor was that Mulmutius, which
 Ordain'd our laws —————
 ————— Mulmutius,
 Who was the first of Britain, &c.

The judicious and necessary omission of the words "made our laws," after the second Mulmutius, originally belongs to Sir Thomas Hammer, who would have deserved more thanks from his readers for his regulations of Shakspeare's metre, if they had not been too frequently made without a proper regard to the accuracy of the text.

Sc. 1. p. 100.

CYM. Thy Cæsar knighted me.

Although our old writers frequently make mention of *Roman knights*, that is, military chieftains, it is very much to be apprehended that the present expression must be regarded as a downright anachronism, as well as another similar passage in p. 213, where Cymbeline addresses Belarius and his sons: "Bow your knees; arise, my *knights* of the battle, &c." The word *knight* was formerly used with great latitude. Dr. Bullen calls Dioscorides "that olde famous Egyptian *knyghte*."

Sc. 2. p. 105.

IMO. (Some griefs are med'cinable;) that is one of them,
For it doth physick love;—

The *whole* of this should be included in the parenthesis, as in Mr. Malone's edition. No reason has been assigned by Mr. Steevens for the variation, which may be an error of the press.

Sc. 3. p. 117.

BEL. ————— *Euriphile*,

Thou wast their nurse—

The above name might have been borrowed

from the story of Amphiaraus and *Eriphile*, in Pettie's *Petite palace*, 1598, 4to.

Sc. 4. p. 120.

Pis. ————— whose tongue
Outvenoms all the worms of Nile.

So in the anonymous play of *Wily beguilde*,

“ Whose tongue more venom than the serpent's sting.”

It is difficult to say which is the imitation.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 154.

GUI. But his neat *cookery*.

This speech has exercised the talents of a certain ingenious female *illustrator* of Shakspeare, who has endeavoured to ridicule the character of Imogen, and indeed the whole of the play. She degrades our heroine into a mere kitchen wench, and adverts to what she calls her *æconomical education*. Now what is this but to expose her own ignorance of ancient manners? If she had missed the advantage of qualifying herself as a commentator on Shakspeare's plots by a perusal

of our old romances, she ought at least to have remembered, what every well informed woman of the present age is acquainted with, the education of the princesses in Homer's *Odyssey*. It is idle to attempt to judge of ancient simplicity by a mere knowledge of modern manners; and such fastidious critics had better close the book of Shakspeare for ever. In another part of her critique on this play, she condemns the giving of the drug to Imogen which Pisanio had received from the queen, from an idea that he was sufficiently warned of its soporific quality; and she positively states that the physician had, by a whisper, informed Pisanio of its property; not one word of which is to be found in Shakspeare. So much for the criticism and accuracy of a work to which Dr. Johnson condescended to write a dedication. He has likewise too often confided in its opinions in the course of several of his remarks on Shakspeare's plays.

Sc. 2. p. 156.

CLO. Know'st me not by my clothes?

GUI. No, nor thy tailor, rascal.

Mr. Steevens's correct ear has on this, perhaps

single, occasion, been deceived. He objects to the negation *no*, as "at once superfluous and injurious to the metre;" yet it is impossible to read the line harmoniously without it. Nor does it constitute the superfluity of the metre, which has, exclusively, two redundant syllables. If any alteration were allowable, it might be the following,

"Know'st not my clothes? No, nor thy tailor, rascal."

Sc. 2. p. 164.

BEL. O thou goddess,
Thou divine nature, *how* thyself thou blazon'st—

This judicious emendation from *thou* thyself &c., claimed by one learned gentleman and adopted by another, is the original property of Sir Thomas Hanmer.

Sc. 2. p. 168.

GVI. With *female* fairies will his tomb be haunted.

i. e. harmless and protecting spirits, not fairies of a mischievous nature.

 Sc. 2. p. 169.

Gvi. And worms will not come to *thee*.

Mr. Steevens imputes *great violence* to this change of person, and would read "come to *him*;" but there is no impropriety in Guiderius's sudden address to the *body itself*. It might indeed be ascribed to our author's careless manner, of which an instance like the present occurs at the beginning of the next act, where Posthumus says,

" ————— you married ones,
If each of *you* would take this course, how many
Must murder wives much better than *themselves*."

 Sc. 2. p. 169.

Avv. ————— the ruddock would,
With charitable bill,—bring thee all this;
Yea and furr'd moss besides, when flowers are none
To *winter-ground* thy corse.

The question made by Dr. Percy, whether the notion of the redbreast covering dead bodies be older than the celebrated ballad of the babes of the wood, has been satisfactorily answered in the affirmative by Mr. Reed's note. In Dekker's *Villanies discovered by lanthorn and candle*

light, 1616, 4to, it is said: "They that cheere up a prisoner but with their sight, are Robin red breasts that bring strawes in their bills to cover a dead man in extremitie." See chap. xv.

With respect to *winter-ground*; until some other example of the use of this word be produced, there will be no impropriety in offering a substitute in *winter-green*, that is, "to preserve thy tomb green with moss in the winter season, when there will be no flowers wherewith to deck it." Such a verb might have been suggested to Shakspeare, who often coins in this way, by the plant *winter-green*, the *pyrola*.

Ruddock was the Saxon name, *pudduc*, for the redbreast, and long continued to be so. In Bullokar's *Æsop*, 1585, 12mo, there is a fable "Of a fowlor and the bird cale'd Robin-red-brest," which concludes in these words: "Then the fowlor, hop of-taking many being lost, when it waz now tym too-rest, drawing the netz, he cauht only on *Robin-ruddok*, which being unhappy [unlucky] had abydd stil in the shrap."

Sc. 2. p. 175.

IMO. 'Od's pittikins!

Mr. Steevens's derivation from God's *my* pity,

is not quite correct. It is rather from *God's pity*, diminutively used by the addition of *kin*. In this manner we have 'od's *lodikins*.

ON THE STORY OF THIS PLAY.

FOR the plot of Cymbeline, Shakspeare has been almost exclusively indebted to Boccaccio's novel of Bernabo Lomellin, Day 2, novel 9, as Mr. Malone has proved beyond the possibility of doubt. Unless we suppose, what is not probable, that Shakspeare was acquainted with the Italian language, or that he had heard the above novel read by some person in English, a difficulty arises in accounting for the manner in which he got access to it. The earliest English translation of the *whole of the Decameron*, was first printed in 1620, by Isaac Jaggard, in folio, and in two parts, the first of which was republished under the title of *The modell of wit, mirth, eloquence and conversation, framed in ten days of an hundred curious pieces, by seven honourable ladies, and three noble gentlemen, preserved to posterity by the renowned John Boccacio the first refiner*

of Italian prose, and now translated into English, 1625, in folio. See more on this subject in a preceding note vol. i. p. 165. Had Shakspeare been intimately acquainted with Boccaccio's Decameron, one should have expected that he would have made considerable use of that work; but this is the only play in which the most material part of the plot has been extracted from it. There are indeed one or two instances in which a very slight use has been made of it, but then evidently through the medium of an English translation. Is it not possible that our author might have known French enough to have occasionally read the Decameron in that language?



TITUS ANDRONICUS.

ACT II.

Scene 1. Page 276.

AAR. And faster bound to Aaron's *charming eyes*.

HE is not here commending the *beauty* of his eyes, but adverting to their power of *fascination*. This was anciently supposed a peculiar quality of the eye, and many remedies or amulets were used to charm away its power.

Sc. 3. p. 287.

TAM. While hounds, and horns, and sweet melodious birds,
Be unto us, as is a nurse's song
Of *lullaby*, to bring her babe asleep.

We have here a curious lullaby note, which, as well as the present, may possibly have a drowsy effect on all readers but staunch antiquaries and etymologists. For the benefit therefore of the latter it may be observed, that Dr. Johnson is

probably mistaken in supposing that the nurse's word *by* signifies sleep, otherwise than as a contraction of *lullaby*. It is to be wished that Mr. Holt White had favoured us with some proof that to *lull* originally signified to *sleep*, and that its present sense, *to compose to sleep by a pleasing sound*, is but a secondary one, retained after the primitive import had become obsolete. The same ingenious critic proceeds to state that *by* means *house*, and therefore *lullaby* is to *go to house or cradle*. There is so much plausibility in this conjecture that it is almost a pity to be obliged to dissent from it. Though it cannot be disputed that *by* signifies a *dwelling*, it is presumed that this sense is as unconnected with the word in question as Dr. Johnson's *sleep*. It would be a hopeless task to trace the origin of the northern verb *to lull*, which means *to sing gently*; but it is evidently connected with the Greek *λαλεω*, loquor, or *λαλλη*, the sound made by the beach at sea. Thus much is certain, that the Roman nurses used the word *lalla* to quiet their children, and that they feigned a deity called *Lallus*, whom they invoked on that occasion; the lullaby or tune itself was called by the same name. As *lallare* meant to *sing lalla*, to *lull* might in like manner denote the singing of the nurse's lullaby to in-

Duce the child to sleep. Thus in an ancient Carol composed in the fifteenth century, and preserved among the Sloane MSS. No. 2593 :

“ che song a slepe w^t. her *lullynge*
here dere sone our savyoure.”

In another old ballad printed by Mr. Ritson in his *Ancient songs*, p. 198, the burden is “ lully, lully, lullaby, lullyby, sweete baby, &c. ;” from which it seems probable that *lullaby* is only a comparatively modern contraction of *lully baby*, the first word being the legitimate offspring of the Roman *lalla*. In another of these pieces still more ancient, and printed in the same collection, we have, “ lullay, lullow, lully, *bewy*, lulla baw baw.” The Welsh appear to have been famous for their lullaby songs. Jones, in his *Arte and science of preserving bodie and soule*, 1579, 4to, says, “ The best nurses, but especially the trim and skilfull Welch women, doe use to sing some preaty sonets, wherwith their copious tong is plentifully stoared of divers pretie tunes and pleasant ditties, that the children disquieted might be brought to reste : but translated never so well, they want their grace in Englishe, for lacke of proper words : so that I will omit them, as I wishe they would theyr lascivious *Dymes*, wanton *Lullies*, and amorous *Englins*.”

Mr. White, in reviewing his opinion of the etymology of *good-by*, will perhaps incline to think it a contraction, when properly written *good b'ye*, of *God be with you*, and not "may your house prosper!"

To add to the stock of our old lullaby songs, two are here subjoined. The first is from a pageant of *The slaughter of the innocents*, acted at Coventry in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by the taylors and shearers of that city, and most obligingly communicated by Mr. Sharpe. The other is from the curious volume of songs mentioned before in vol. i. p. 426. Both exhibit the simplicity of ancient manners.

" Lully, lulla, thou littell tine childe,
By by lully lullay,
Lully lullay thou littell tyne child,
By by lully lullay.

O sisters too, how may we do,
For to preserve this day
This pore yongling, for whom we do singe
By by lully lullay.

Herod the king, in his raging,
Chargid he hath this day;
His men of might, in his owne sight,
All yonge children to slay.

That wo is me, pore child for thee,
And ever morne and say ;
For thi parting, nether say nor sing,
By by lully lullay."

" By by lullaby
Rockyd I my chyld
In a drē late as I lay
Me thought I hard a maydyn say
And spak thes wordys mylde,
My lytil sone with the I play
And ever she song by lullay.
Thus rockyd she hyr chyld
By by lullabi,
Rockid I my child by by.
Then merveld I ryght sore of thys
A mayde to have a chyld I wys,
By by lullay.
Thus rockyd she her chyld
By by lullaby, rockyd I my chyld." Finis.

Sc. 3. p. 290.

TAM. O'ercome with moss and *baleful* misletoe.

This epithet is extremely appropriate either conformably to an ancient, but erroneous, opinion, that the berries of the misletoe were poisonous ; or on account of the use made of this plant by the Druids during their detestable human sacrifices.

ACT III.**Scene 1. Page 305.**

TIT. Speak my Lavinia, what accursed hand
Hath made thee handless in thy father's *sight*?

Dr. Warburton says, "we should read *spight*;" but there is no reason for a change for the worse. Titus had made no attempt to *prevent* the mutilation of his unhappy daughter, nor had it taken place in *despite*, i. e. contempt or hatred of him.

ACT IV.**Scene 3. Page 338.**

TIT. And sith there is no justice in earth nor hell,
We will solicit heaven, and move the Gods.

Notwithstanding the difference in arrangement, it will hardly be questioned that the author is here indebted to Virgil's

"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo."

This may be added to the list of classical allusions at the end of the play.

ACT V.Scene 1. *Page 351.*

AAR. An idiot holds his *bauble* for a God,
And keeps the oath which by that God he swears.

Even though the bauble here mentioned had been actually of that kind which is alluded to in the course of a note in *All's well that ends well*, Act iv., his imagination would be deemed not a little fanciful, who would connect it with the object of the singular oath in *Genesis*, xxiv. 9. There cannot however be a doubt that Aaron refers to that sort of bauble or sceptre which was usually carried in the hand by natural idiots and allowed jesters, and by which, it may be supposed, they would sometimes swear. The resemblance which it bore to an image or idol suggested the poet's comparison.

Sc. 2. *p. 363.*

TIT. So, now bring them in, for I will play the cook.

This redundant line ought to be thus arranged and printed.

So,

Now bring them in, for I will play the cook.

Sc. 3. p. 364.

MAR. Rome's emperor, and nephew, *break* the parley.

Dr. Johnson makes the sense "*begin* the parley." Is it not rather "*break off* this sort of discourse!"? for Lucius and Saturninus had already *begun* the parley by sparring language: to prevent the continuance of it Marcus interferes, by declaring that their quarrels must be adjusted by gentle *words*.

Throughout this play the name *Andrōnīcus* is improperly accented. It should have been *Andronīcus*.

THE CLOWN.

HE is nothing more than a shrewd rustic, performing the office of a messenger.



PÉRICLES.

Page 388.

Pentapolis.]

“THIS,” says Mr. Steevens, “is an imaginary city, and its name might have been borrowed from some romance. We meet, indeed, in history with *Pentapolitana regio*, a country in Africa, and from thence perhaps some novelist furnished the sounding title of *Pentapolis*,” &c. But there was no absolute reason for supposing it a city in this play, as Gower in the *Confessio amantis* had done, a circumstance which had probably misled Mr. Steevens. In the original Latin romance of Apollonius Tyrius it is most accurately called *Pentapolis Cyrenorum*, and was, as both Strabo and Ptolemy inform us, a district of Cyrenaica in Africa, comprising *five cities*, of which Cyrene was one.

ACT I.

GOWER. To sing a song of *old* was sung.

The editor having very properly adopted Mr. Malone's amendment in the text, has forgotten to mention that the former reading was *that old*, and the note is consequently rendered obscure.

Sc. 1. p. 397.

PER. See where she comes, apparell'd like the *spring*,
Graces her subjects, and her thoughts the king
Of every virtue —

A transposition of *spring* and *king* has been suggested, but on no solid foundation; nor, it is presumed, is the passage *incurably depraved*, or even any change necessary. Mr. Steevens asks "With what propriety can a lady's thoughts be styled the king of every virtue?" For this the poet must answer, who evidently designed an antithesis in *king* and *subjects*.

 Sc. 1. p. 402.

Ant. Read the *conclusion* then ;

Which read and not expounded, 'tis decreed,
As these before thee, thou thyself shalt bleed.

Conclusion, which formerly signified a trial or *experiment*, is here put for *riddle*, itself a trial of *skill*. The practice of proposing such riddles, with the penalty for not expounding them, is borrowed from ancient romances. In that of *Tristan de Leonnois*, there is a giant who detains all passengers that he meets, and puts them to the test of unfolding a riddle. If they fail, he kills them. A hero at length presents himself, who, after explaining the riddle, proposes one in his turn ; the giant not being able to expound it, is himself put to death. The construction of these riddles is the same as that in the play, as will appear from the following specimen :

“ Je d'un arbre jouy jadis
Que j'aimois mieux que paradis ;
C'est arbre bel fruit m'apporta
Que sa grand' beauté m'entorta
Tellement que la fleur en pris :
Et puis du fruit tant je mespris
Qu'a le manger fu irrité.
Dy moy du cas la verité,
La me disant la vie auras ;
Si non sois seur que tu mourras.”

Sc. 1. p. 402.

DAUGH. *In all save that, may'st thou prove prosperous !*

This reading has been adopted in preference to that of the old copy, which was, *of all said yet ;* and in support of it Mr. Mason has offered the following argument.

She cannot wish him more prosperous in expounding the riddle than those who had preceded him ; because his success would cause the publication of her own shame. Feeling a regard for the prince, she deprecates his fate, and wishes he may not succeed in solving the riddle ; but that his failure may be attended with prosperous consequences. Now she must have very well known that the failure in question could be attended with no other consequences than the forfeiture of his life, a condition that had been just before expressly declared. Nor was such a wish on the part of the lady likely to operate as an inducement to the prince to try his chance, The words “ save that ” appear to have no regular antecedent. Would it not therefore be more charitable towards the lady to suppose that her mind revolted at the guilty situation she was placed in ; and that a sudden affection for the prince, and a desire to be honourably united to such a man,

might take possession of her mind; and induce her to wish, according to a sense which may be extracted from the old reading, that, *as to all which had been uttered*, he might prove successful? It should be remembered too, that this idea corresponds entirely with the character of the princess in Gower. Should this interpretation be thought just, the present speech must be supposed to be *privately* addressed to the prince.

Sc. 1. p. 410.

PER. ——— for wisdom sees, those men
Blush not in actions blacker than the night,
Will *shun* no course to keep them from the light.

The old reading was *show* no course, which is equivalent with *take no means*; and the construction is, "they who blush not for bad actions will take no means to conceal them."

Sc. 2. p. 413.

PER. Let none disturb us: why this *charge* of thoughts?

Both the old editions have *change*, which, as Mr. Mason has shown, may very well stand; and even the redundant word *should*, in the old copies, might be retained without diminishing the

harmony of the line. The sense would then be,
 "Let none disturb us : why should this change
 of sentiment [disturb us"]?

Sc. 4. p. 426.

CLE. *If heaven slumber while their creatures want,*
They may awake their helps to comfort them.

As these lines stand they are ungrammatical. The original reading was, no doubt, *if the Gods slumber*, which was altered by the licencer of the press. This should either be restored, or the whole rendered correct.

ACT II.

Page 438.

Gow. ——— what shall be next,
 Pardon old Gower ; this *longs* the text.

Which Mr. Steevens thus explains ; "Excuse old Gower from telling you what follows. The very text to it has proved of too considerable a length already." But has he not missed the meaning of this elliptical mode of expression, which seems to be,—"Excuse old Gower from

relating what follows; this *belongs* to the text,
i. e. the play itself, not to me the commentator?"
 In the third act he uses a similar speech,

"I will relate; action may
 Conveniently the rest convey."

Longs should be printed '*longs*, as we have '*lated*
 for *belated* in *Macbeth*, Act iii. Sc. 3.

Sc. 1. p. 450.

PER. ——— I yet am unprovided
 Of a pair of *bases*.

These were a sort of petticoat that hung down to the knees, and were suggested by the Roman military dress, in which they seem to have been separate and parallel slips of cloth or leather. Gayton in his *Festivous notes on Don Quixote*, p. 218, says, that "all heroick persons are *pictured* in *bases* and buskins." In the celebrated story of *Friar John and friar Richard*, as related in Heywood's *History of women*, p. 253, the skirts of the *armed* friar's gown are made to serve as *bases*. At the justs that were held in honour of Queen Catherine in the second year of Hen. VIII., some of the knights had "their *basses* and trappers of cloth of golde, every of

them his name embroudered on his *basse* and trapper." Halle's *Chronicle*. But here the term seems applied to the furniture of the horses. The bases appear to have been made of various materials. If in tilting they fell to the ground, the heralds claimed them as a fee, unless redeemed by money; this indeed was the case with respect to any piece of armour that happened to be detached from the owner. Sometimes *bases* denoted the hose merely; as in the comedy of *Lingua*, 1607, where *Auditus*, one of the characters, is dressed in "a cloth of silver mantle upon a pair of sattin *bases*." In Rider's Latin dictionary, 1659, *bases* are rendered *palliolum curtum*. The term seems to have been borrowed from the French, who at a very early period used *baché* for a woman's petticoat. See Carpentier *Glossar. medii ævi*.

Sc. 2. p. 454.

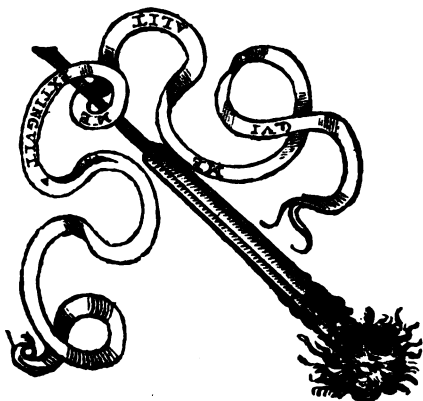
THAIS. And his device, a *wreath* of chivalry
The word, *Me pompæ prorexit apex*.

Pompæ, and not *Pompei*, is undoubtedly the true word; and the whole of Mr. Steevens's reasoning in favour of the latter is at once disposed of by referring to the work which appears to have furnished the author of the play with this and the

two subsequent devices of the knights. It is a scarce little volume entitled, *The heroicall devises of M. Claudius Paradin canon of Beaujeu, whereunto are added the lord Gabriel Symeon's and others. Translated out of Latin into English, by P. S.* 1591, 24mo. The sixth device, from its peculiar reference to the situation of Pericles, may perhaps have been altered from one in the same collection used by Diana of Poitiers. It is a green branch issuing from a tomb with the motto SOLA VIVIT IN ILLO. The following are what have been immediately borrowed from Paradin; but it is also proper to state that the



torch and the hand issuing from a cloud are to be found in Whitney's *Emblems*, 1586, 4to. As they are all more elegantly engraved in the original editions of Paradin and Symeon than in the English book above mentioned, the copies here given have been made from the former.



ACT III.

Scene 2. Page 438.

1. GENT. Or tie my treasure up in silken bags,
To please *the fool and death*.

The notes on this passage having got into some little confusion by the introduction of the lines in *Measure for measure* which relate to the *fool and death* and the supplemental remarks on it, it will be necessary in all future editions to keep them separate, as it seems almost certain that they have no connexion with each other.

Cerimon in most express terms declares that he feels more real satisfaction in his liberal employment as a physician, than he should in the uncertain pursuit of honour, or in the mere accumulation of wealth; which would assimilate him to a miser, the result of whose labour is merely to entertain the fool and death. But how was such amusement as this to affect those personages in the *other* instance, where the vain attempts of a fool to escape the jaws of his adversary form the whole of the subject? The allusion therefore is to some such print as Mr. Steevens happily

remembered to have seen, in which death plunders the miser of his money bags, whilst the fool is grinning at the process. It may be presumed that these subjects were common in Shakspeare's time. They might have ornamented the poor man's cottage in the shape of rude prints, or have been introduced into halfpenny ballads long since consigned to oblivion. The miser is at all times fair game; and to prove that this is not a chimerical opinion, and at the same time to show the extensive range of this popular subject, a few prints of the kind shall be mentioned. 1. Death and the two misers, by Michael Pregel. 2. An old couple counting their money, death and two devils attending, a mezzotint by Vander Bruggen. 3. A similar mezzotint by Meheux without the devils. 4. An old print on a *single sheet* of a dance of death, on which both the *miser* and the *fool* are exhibited in the clutches of the grim monarch.

The rear may be closed with the same subject as represented in the various *dances of death* that still remain. Nor should it be concluded that because these prints exhibit no fool to grin at the impending scene, others might not have done so. The satirical introduction of this character on many occasions supports the probability that they did. Thus in a painting of the school of Holbein,

an old man makes love to a girl, attended by a fool and death, to show, in the first instance, the folly of the thing, and in the next, its consequences. It is unnecessary to pursue the argument, as every print of the above kind that may in future occur, will itself speak much more forcibly than any thing which can here be added.

ACT IV.

Scene 3. *Page 539.*

The two last lines in the quotation from *The wife for a month* should be printed thus,

Hung up *my* picture in a market place,
And sold *me* to vile bawds.

Sc. 3. *p. 540.*

Bawd. — to scatter his *crowns* in the sun.

“There is here,” says Mr. Malone, “perhaps, some allusion to the *lues venerea*, though the words *French crowns* in their literal acceptation were certainly also in Boult’s thoughts.” Mr. Mason sees no allusion whatever to the above disease. That a French crown did signify the

lues venerea cannot be doubted ; but Mr. Mason's difference of opinion might be further supported by reflecting that if the Frenchman came to *renovate** his malady, he could not well be said to scatter it. It must therefore be inferred that he was to scatter nothing but his money. As Mr. Mason has not favoured us with an explanation of the coins in question, it is necessary to state that they were *crowns of the sun*, specifically so called, *écus du soleil* ; and in this instance, for the sake of antithesis, termed crowns *in* the sun. They were of gold, originally coined by Louis XI. Their name was derived from the mint mark of a sun ; and they were current in this kingdom by weight, in the same manner as certain English coins were in France.

Sc. 3. p. 541.

BOULT. — we should lodge them with *this sign*.

This sign is properly referred by Mr. Malone to the person of Marina, and cannot, for the reasons in the last note, allude to the *sun*, according

* It is necessary that the reader should review Mr. Malone's preceding and satisfactory note.

to Mr. Mason's second explanation. Nor is this gentleman's argument supported by the instance adduced of the sun having been used as the sign of a brothel. It was by no means exclusively, or even particularly so. The following passage from Dekker's *Villanies discovered, or the bel-man's night walks*, may throw some light on the subject before us. "He saw the doores of notorious carted bawdes (like hell gates) stand night and day wide open, with a paire of harlots in raffata gownes (like two painted posts) garnishing out those doores, being better to the house then a double signe."

Sc. 6. p. 567.

MAL. Thou'rt the damn'd door-keeper to every coystrel
That hither comes enquiring for his *tib*.

Mr. Malone thinks *Tib* a contraction of *Tabitha*; but quære if not of *Isabel*? In all events it was a name given to any lewd woman. In *Pasquil's mad cappe*, 1626, 4to, an excellent satire, mention is made of a *tinker and his tibbe*. Why this name was exclusively applied to a loose woman, or how it got into the game of gleek, does not appear.

ACT V.

Scene 3. *Page 607.*

PER. Heav'ns make a *star* of him !

So in 1 *Henry VI.* Act i.

“ A far more glorious star thy soul will make
Than Julius Cæsar—”

This notion is borrowed from the ancients, who expressed their mode of conferring divine honours and immortality on men, by placing them among the stars. Thus on a medal of Hadrian the adopted son of Trajan and Plotina, the divinity of his parents is expressed by placing a star over their heads ; and in like manner the consecration medals of Faustina the elder exhibit her on an eagle, her head surrounded with stars. Other similar medals have the moon and stars ; and some of Faustina the younger the inscription SIDERIBVS RECEPTA.

THE CLOWN.

Although Boulton, the servant to the pandar and his wife, is not termed a *clown* in the *dra-*

matris personæ, it should seem that he has an equal claim to the appellation with several other low characters that have been introduced into plays for the purpose of amusing the audience. He bears some affinity to the tapster in *Measure for measure*; but there is nothing that immediately constitutes him the jester to a brothel. See what has been said on such a character in the article relating to the clown in *Measure for measure*.

ON THE STORY OF PERICLES.

As the very great popularity of this play in former times may be supposed to have originated rather from the interest which the *story*, replete with incident, must have excited, than from any intrinsic merit as a *dramatic composition*; it may be worth while, and even interesting to many, to give the subject more ample discussion. To trace it beyond the period in which the favourite romance of *Apollonius Tyrius* was composed, would be a vain attempt. That was the probable original; but of its author nothing decisive has been discovered. The following circumstance,

however, has led to a conjecture concerning him; which shall be stated with as much brevity as possible. When Tarsia, the Marina of Pericles, has finished the song which she addresses to her unknown father Apollonius, she receives from him a hundred pieces of gold, with a command to leave him. Athenagoras, the Lysimachus of Pericles, afterwards meets her, gives her two hundred pieces, and prevails on her to make another effort to sooth the melancholy of Apollonius. She returns to him, requests permission to renew their conversation, and insists on his taking back his money, unless he can expound certain riddles which she proceeds to state. Now these riddles, three in number, are to be found in a work entitled *Symposii ænigmata*. The original editor of this book, Pierre Pithou, thought fit, without the smallest authority, to entitle the supposed author Cælius Firmianus Symposius. Heuman, a subsequent editor, placing implicit confidence in this name, maintained that this person could be no other than the celebrated father of the church Cælius Firmianus Lactantius; for having found that he had written a work, now lost, under the title of *Symposium*, he concluded that the name of *Symposius*, which occurs at the beginning of the *ænigmas*, was a mistake, and

that he had therefore proved his point. But this futile reasoning was easily subverted by the superior critical talents of the truly learned Fabricius, who demonstrated the impossibility of such an error, and that Heuman had even misconceived the meaning of the word *Symposium*, which could not apply to a work like the *ænigmas*. Besides, the evidence of Saint Jerome remained to show that the *symposium* was not written, like the *ænigmas*, in hexameter verses. Lactantius is therefore out of the question; and though there is no immediate proof respecting the time in which *Symposius* lived, it appears that it must have been before the eighth century, as bishop Aldhelm, who died in 709, quotes the *ænigmas as composed by Symposius the poet*. This, and many other circumstances, sufficiently identify him against the ill-founded assertions of Heuman, who regarded him as a non-entity. Aldhelm himself wrote *ænigmas* so much in the manner of *Symposius*, that one might reasonably enough infer there was no great difference in their respective ages. The learned Barthius (see his *Adversaria*, lib. lviii. c. 1.), fully persuaded of the reality of *Symposius*, and acquainted with the occurrence of the riddles in the history of *Apolonius Tyrius*, concluded, with other learned men,

that Symposius wrote the latter; and he justly terms the author *dulcis scriptor et eruditus*, as will be evident to any one who will take the trouble of reading it in Velser's edition, which is printed from a better manuscript than those used in the *Gesta Romanorum*. If, as Velser maintains, and Barthius admits, it was originally written in Greek, a difficulty arises with respect to Symposius, unless he be regarded as the translator. But, to say the truth, there does not appear to be any solid reason for supposing him the author, or even translator. It is not very probable that in either character he would have introduced his own matter from another work; and therefore, until some more fortunate discovery shall occur, the romance of Apollonius Tyrius must remain anonymous.

With respect to the language in which it was composed, Velser was of opinion, from certain Græco-Latin words which it contains, that this was Greek; and he speaks, rather obscurely, of a manuscript of it in that language at Constantinople. He seems to think that the translator was a Christian, living about the period of the decline of the Roman empire. Barthius conceived him to have been a monk of the sixth century. The Saxon translation mentioned in Wanley's list of

manuscripts, and now in Bennett College Cambridge, is doubtless from the Latin, and is alone a sufficient testimony of the antiquity of the work. At what time it was made must be left to the decision of those who are critically skilled in the Saxon language. One Constantine is said to have translated it into modern Greek verse about the year 1500; and this is probably the manuscript mentioned in Dufresne's index of authors, and afterwards printed at Venice in 1568. Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed that Velser was not aware of its having been already published in the *Gesta Romanorum*; and it may be added that it had been printed separately at Augsburg in 1471, perhaps as early as in the *Gesta Romanorum*; a fact that cannot well be ascertained, because there are editions of the latter without date which might have been printed before. Mr. Warton has committed a slight mistake in supposing that Alamannus Rinucinus made a Latin translation corrected by Beroaldus about the year 1520*. Vossius, whom he had misconceived, was speaking of a translation of Philostratus's life of Apollonius Tyaneus. What Mr. Malone has said of the *English* translations precludes the necessity of

* Hist. of Engl. poetry, III. lxiv.

any further notice of them; but with respect to that gentleman's supposition, that there might have been an early prose translation from the *Gesta Romanorum*, in which the name of *Apollonius* was changed to *Pericles*, it becomes necessary to state that there are very good reasons for concluding that the story of *Apollonius Tyrius*, from the *Gesta Romanorum*, never was translated into English; and even that the *Gesta Romanorum* in question did not appear in our language till the beginning of the eighteenth century, and then but a small portion of it*. The name of *Pericles* has been very well accounted for by Mr. Steevens.

To render this article as complete as possible, and to facilitate the reference to a story once so celebrated, a list of the various manuscripts and printed copies is subjoined.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Those in *Latin* are, two in Bennett Coll. Cambridge; see Nasmith's *Catal.* Nos. cccxviii. ccccli.—Two in the Bodleian libr. Nos. 2435, 2540; see *Catal. MSS. Angliæ*, pp. 125, 134. Mr. Warton mentions a third, in *H. E. Poetry*,

* See the subsequent Dissertation on the *Gesta Romanorum*,

vol. i. p. 350, note h. A fourth is in the same library among Archb. Laud's MSS. No. 1302, *Catal. MSS. Angliæ*, p. 70; on what authority this is said to have been translated from the Greek, remains to be examined.

In Magdal. Coll. Ox. No. 2191, *Catal. MSS. Angliæ*, p. 72.—In Vossius's collection, No. 2409, *Catal. MSS. Angliæ*, p. 64.—In the Norfolk collection, now in the library of the Royal Society, No. 3181, *Catal. MSS. Angliæ*, p. 80.—Two in the Sloanian library; see Ascough's *Catal.* p. 854.—Two in the Vatican. See Montfaucon *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, i. 20, Nos. 275, 284.—In the Medicean library, Montfaucon *Bibl. bibl.* i. 372, No. xl.—In the royal library at Paris; Montfaucon *Bibl. bibl.* ii. 756, No. 5251.

A *Saxon* translation. Bennett Coll. Camb. See Nasmith's *Catal.* No. cci. and Wanley, *Libror. vett. septentrional. catal. apud Hiccesij Thesaur.* p. 146.

A *French* translation is among the royal MSS. in the British museum, 20 c. ii. evidently made from the Latin about the 15th century.

A fragment in old *English* verse, probably by Thomas Vicary of Wimborn minster in Dorsetshire, on the story of *Apollonius Tyrius*, was in the possession of the late reverend and learned

Dr. Farmer of Cambridge. See it noticed in the present vol. of Mr. Steevens's Shakspeare, pp. 381, 609.

PRINTED COPIES.

Apollonii Tyrii historia, no date, but before 1500, 8vo.

The same published by Velser, 1595, 4to.

In modern Greek verse. Venice 1563, 1601, 1696, 8vo.

In Italian rime. Venice 1486, and without place 1489, 4to.

In Italian prose, *reformed*; and published for the benefit of the common people, *per piacer del popolo*, Milan 1492, 4to.

In Spanish, in the *Patrañas* of Juan Timoneda, Alcala 1576, and Bilbao 1580, 8vo. This translation may be presumed to have been made from the *Gesta Romanorum*, as other stories from it are in the same work.

In German, Augsburg 1471, folio, and 1476, 4to.

In Dutch, Delft, 1493, 4to.

In French, b. l. Geneva, 4to. n. d. Again, transl. by Gilles Corrozet, Paris 1530. 8vo. Again, Amst. 1710, Paris 1711, 12mo, modernised by M. Le Brun. It is abridged in *Me-*

lances tirées d'une grande bibliotheque, vol. lxiv. p. 265. It is also among the *Hist. tragiques de Belleforest*, tom. vii. 1604, 12mo.

In English, transl. by Rob. Copland from the French, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1510.

The patterne of painful adventures &c. that befell unto Prince APPOLONIUS, &c. translated by T. Twine, 1607. Originally published by W. Howe, 1576.

In Gower's *Confessio amantis*, 1483, 1532, and 1554, folio, from Godfrey of Viterbo.

In the *Pantheon* or *universal chronicle* of Godfrey of Viterbo, compiled in Latin in the 12th century. First printed at Basil, 1569, folio, and afterwards in Pistorius's collection of German historians.

And lastly, in *most* of the editions of the *Gesta Romanorum*, in which it makes the 153d chapter. In comparing this with Velser's work, it will be perceived that it is the same, making allowance for the usual difference of manuscripts. In short, there is but one story.

A few years after the publication of this play, there appeared on the French stage a tragi-comedy on the same story, entitled *Les heureuses infortunes*. It is in two parts, each of five acts, and

composed by Francois Bernier de la Brousse. It might be worth while to examine whether he had made any use of the English Pericles.

However unworthy of Shakspeare's pen this drama, as an *entire* composition, may be considered, many will be of opinion that it contains more that *he might have written* than either *Love's labour's lost*, or *All's well that ends well*.



KING LEAR.

ACT I.

Scene 1. *Page 11.*

COR. ——— I am sure, my love's
More richer than *my* tongue.

DR. WARBURTON would have it *their* tongue, meaning her sisters', which would be very good sense. Dr. Johnson is content with the present reading, but gives no explanation. Cordelia means to say, "My love is greater than my powers of language can express." In like manner she soon afterwards says, "I cannot heave my heart into my mouth."

Sc. 1. *p. 12.*

LEAR. Nothing can come of nothing.

In the fourth scene of this act, Lear uses the same expression in answer to the fool, who had asked him if he could "make no use of nothing." For this ancient saying of one of the philosophers,

VOL. II.

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Shakspeare might have been indebted to the following passage in *The prayse of nothing*, by E. D. 1585, 4to. "The prophane antiquitie therefore, unlesse by casuall meanes, entreated little hereof, as of that which by their rule, that *nihil ex nihilo fit*, contained not matter of profit or commendation : for which those philosophers hunted, as ambitious men for dominion and empire."

Sc. 4. p. 60.

FOOL. That such a king should play *bo-peep*.

Mr. Steevens remarks that little more of this *game* than its mere denomination remains. He had forgotten the amusements of his nursery. In Sherwood's *Dictionary* it is defined, "*Jeu d'enfant ; ou (plustost) des nourrices aux petits enfans ; se cachans le visage et puis se monstrant.*" The Italians say *far bau bau*, or *baco baco*, and *baucare* ; which shows that there must at some time or other have been a connexion between the nurse's *terriculamentum*, the *boggle* or *buggy bo*, and the present expression. See the note in vol. i. p. 328. Minsheu's derivation of *bo-peep* from the noise which chickens make when they come out of the shell, is more whimsical than just.

Sc. 4. p. 65.

LEAR. Lear's shadow ?

We are told that "the folio has given these words to the fool." And so they certainly should be, without the mark of interrogation. They are of no use whatever in Lear's speech ; and without this arrangement, the fool's next words, "which they will make an obedient father," are unintelligible. It will likewise dispose of Mr. Steevens's subsequent charge against Shakspeare, of inattention to the rules of grammar.

ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 92.

KENT. I'll make a *sop o' the moonshine* of you.

It is certain that an equivoque is here intended by an allusion to the old dish of *eggs in moonshine*, which was eggs broken and boiled in salad oil till the yolks became hard. They were eaten with *slices* of onions fried in oil, butter, verjuice, nutmeg and salt.

Sc. 3. p. 109.

EDG. Pins, wooden pricks &c.

Rightly explained *skewers*. Greene, in his admirable satire, *A quip for an upstart courtier*, speaking of the tricks played by the butchers in his time, makes one of his characters exclaim, "I pray you, goodman Kilcalfe, have you not your artificial knaveries to set out your meate with *pricks*?" The brewers and bakers come in also for their share of abuse.

Sc. 3. p. 110.

EDGAR. Poor Turlygood!

Warburton would read *Turlupin*, and Hanmer *Turluru*; but there is a better reason for rejecting both these terms than for preferring either; viz. that *Turlygood* is the *corrupted* word in our language. The Turlupins were a fanatical sect that over-ran France, Italy, and Germany, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They were at first known by the names of *Beghards* or *Beghins*, and brethren and sisters of the free spirit. Their manners and appearance exhibited

the strongest indications of lunacy and distraction. The common people alone called them *Turlupins*; a name, which, though it has excited much doubt and controversy, seems obviously to be connected with the *wolvish howlings* which these people in all probability would make when influenced by their religious ravings. Their subsequent appellation of *the fraternity of poor men* might have been the cause why the wandering rogues called *Bedlam beggars*, and one of whom Edgar personates, assumed or obtained the title of *Turlupins* or *Turlygoods*, especially if their mode of asking alms was accompanied by the gesticulations of madmen. *Turlupino* and *Turluru* are old Italian terms for a fool or madman; and the Flemings had a proverb, *As uhfortunate as Turlupin and his children*.

Sc. 4. p. 113.

LEAR. To do upon respect such violent outrage.

Explained by Dr. Johnson, "to violate the character of a messenger from the king." It is rather "to do outrage to that respect which is due to the king." This, in part, agrees with the ensuing note,

 Sc. 4. p. 114.

KENT. They summon'd up their *meiny*.

Meiny, signifying a family, household, or retinue of servants, is certainly from the French *meinie*, or, as it was anciently and more properly written, *mesnie*; which word has been regarded, with great probability, by a celebrated French glossarist and antiquary, as equivalent with *mesonie* or *maisonie*, from *maison*: in modern French *ménage*. See glossary to Villehardouin, edit. 1657, folio.

Mr. Holt White has cited Dryden's line,

"The *many* rend the skies with loud applause,"

as supplying the use of *many* in Kent's sense of *train* or *retinue*. With great deference, the word is quite unconnected with *meiny*, and simply denotes any *multitude* or collection of people. It is not only used at present in its common adjective form for *several*, *divers*, *multi*, but even substantively: for in the Northern parts of England they still say *a many*, and *a many people*, i. e. of people. In this sense it is never found in the French language; but we have received it directly, as an adjective, from the Saxon *man*

~~many~~, and as a substantive, from *menu*, *mængeo*, *menigo*, &c. &c.; for in that language the word is found written not less than twenty different ways. It is the same as the Latin *manus*: Horace uses *manus poetarum*; and Quintilian of *oratorum ingens manus*. It does not appear that the Saxons used *many* for a *family* or household.

Sc. 4. p. 121.

Fool. Cry to it nuncle, as the *cockney* did to the eels.

The difficulties that have attended all inquiries concerning this term, have been not a little augmented by an expectation of finding an uniformity which it does not possess, and by not reflecting that it is in reality susceptible of very different explanations.

There is hardly a doubt that it originates in an Utopian region of indolence and luxury, formerly denominated the country of *cocaigne**, which,

* This country has been humorously described by an old French fablier, from whose work an extract may be found in Mons. Legrand's entertaining collection of *Fabliaux*, tom. i. p. 251; and which verifies Mr. Tyrwhitt's conjecture, that the old English poem first published by Hickes, *G. A. Sax.* p. 231, was a translation from the French. See *Cant. tales*, vol. iv. p. 254.

as some have thought, was intimately connected with the art of *cookery*; whilst others, with equal plausibility, relate that the little pellets of woad, a commodity in which Languedoc was remarkably fertile, being called by the above name, the province itself acquired the appellation of the kingdom of *cocaigne* or of plenty, where the inhabitants lived in the utmost happiness, and exempt from every sort of care and anxiety. Hence the name came to be applied to any rich country. Boileau calls Paris *un pays de cocagne*. The French have likewise some theatrical pieces under this title. The Italians have many allusions to it; and there is said to be a small district between Rome and Loretto so called from its cheapness and fertility. With us the lines cited by Camden in his *Britannia*, vol. i. col. 451,

“ Were I in my castle of Bungey
Upon the river of Waveney
I would ne care for the king of *Cockney*,”

whencesoever they come, indicate that London was formerly known by this satirical name; and hence a *Londoner* came to be called a *cockney*. The French have an equivalent word, *coquelinier*, to pamper, cherish, or dandle, whence our *cocker*.

From the above circumstances it is probable that a *cockney* became at length a term of con-

tempt; one of the earliest proofs of which is Chaucer's use of it in the *Reve's tale*, v. 4206: "I shall be halden a daffe or a *cokenay*." In the *Promptuarium parvulorum*, 1516, 4to, it is explained to be a term of derision. In Shakespeare's time it signified a child tenderly brought up, a dearling, a wanton. See Barret's *Alvearie*; and a little before it had been used in a bad sense, from an obvious corruption. See Hulæt's *Abc-darium*, 1552, folio. In this place too Mr. Steevens's quotations from Meres and Decker might be introduced.

The next sense in which *cockney* was used seems to be conveyed in the line cited by Mr. Tyrwhitt from *Pierce Plowman's Visions*:

"And yet I say by my soule I have no salt bacon,
Ne no *cokeney* by Christe coloppes to make:"

as well as in those from the tournament of Tottenham;

"At that feast were they served in rich array,
Every five and five had a *cokeney*:"

where in both instances, with deference to the respectable authorities of Dr. Percy and Mr. Tyrwhitt, it signifies a *little cock*. In the latter quotation it might mean a peacock, a favourite dish among our ancestors; and this conjecture is

depravation a duré plus de deux siècles? Aussi sont ce moins les noms de ces pâtisseries qu'il faut blâmer que les formes qu'on leur donnait. Champier, apres avoir décrit les différentes pâtisseries usitées de son temps, dit, *Quædam pudenda muliebria, aliæ virilia (si diis placet) representant. Sunt quos c saccharatos appetilient. Aded degeneravere boni mores, ut etiam Christianis obscœna et pudenda in cibis placeant.*"

Minsheu's tale of the cock neighing, and Casaubon's derivation of cockney from οἰκογενής, i. e. domi natus, may serve to increase those smiles of compassion which it is to be feared some of the present remarks may have already excited.

It is worth remarking, although not immediately connected with the present subject, that in the Celtic languages *coeg*, and *hok*, signified any thing foolish or good for nothing. They seem connected with the radical word for a *cuckow*, a silly bird, which has thus transmitted its appellation to persons of a similar nature. See the words *cog* in the Welsh dictionaries, and *cok* in Pryce's Cornish vocabulary. In the North they call the cuckow a *gowk*, whence *genhit*, foolish, and *gawky*. Our term *cohes*, for a fool, is of the same family, and, perhaps, *cuckhold*.

 Sc. 4. p. 132.

LEAR. Thou art a *loil*.

The note on this word states that it was written *byle* in the old copies, which all the modern editors have too strictly followed; that the mistake arose from the word *boil* being often pronounced as if written *bile*; and that in the folio we find in *Coriolanus* the same *false* spelling as here.—But this charge against the editors seems to have originated in a misconception. The ancient and true orthography is *byle* and *bile*, and such was the common pronunciation. The modern *boyl* and *boil* are corruptions. Thus in the *Promptuarium parvulorum*, 1516, we have “*Byle* sore,—*Pustula*.” In Mathews’s bible, 1551, “Satan smote Job with marvelous soore *byles*.” In Whetstone’s *Mirour for magistrates of cities*, 1584, 4to, “*Dicyng* houses are of the substance of other buildinges, but within are the botches and *byles* of abhominacion.” *Bile* is pure Saxon, and is so given in most of the old dictionaries.

Sc. 4. p. 135.

LEAR. ——— but this heart

Shall break into a hundred thousand *flaws*.

On the word *flaws* we have the following note :

“ A *flaw*, signifying a crack or other similar imperfection ; our author, with his accustomed license, uses the word here for a *small broken particle*. So again in the fifth act,

“ ————— but his *flaw'd* heart
Burst smilingly.”

Now there is some reason for supposing that *flaw* might signify a *fragment* in Shakspeare's time, as well as a mere crack ; because among the Saxons it certainly had that meaning, as may be seen in Somner's *Diction. Saxon.* voce *ploh*. It is to be observed that the quartos read *flowes*, approaching nearer to the original. In the above quotation *flaw'd* seems to be used in the *modern* sense.

ACT III.

Scene 2. Page 147.

FOOL. Marry, here's grace, and a *cod-piece* ; that 's a wise man and a *fool*.

Shakspeare has with some humour applied the above name to the fool, who, for obvious reasons, was usually provided with this unseemly part of dress in a more remarkable manner than other persons. To the custom Gayton thus alludes, when

speaking of the decline of the stage: "No fooles with *Harry codpieces appeare.*" *Festivous notes upon Don Quixote*, p. 270.

Sc. 2. p. 150.

FOOL. No hereticks *burn'd* but wenches suitors.

Dr. Johnson has very well explained why *wenches suitors* were *burned*; but Mr. Steevens's quotation from Isaiah iii. 24, "—and *burning* instead of beauty," has not been applied on this occasion with his usual discernment. Not to mention the improbability that the *burning* in question should have existed in the time of Isaiah, the expression itself is involved in the deepest obscurity. Saint Jerome has entirely omitted it; and if the Hebrew word which in some translations has been rendered *adustio*, be susceptible of any fair meaning, it is that of *shrivelled* or *dried up by heat*. It is, therefore, in the bishops' bible and some foreign translations paraphrastically given, "and for their bewty witherednesse and *sunne burning.*" The manuscript regulations for the stews in Southwark, printed but abridged in Stowe's *Annals*, would have furnished the learned commentator with a far more apposite illustration.

In these it is said, "no stewholder shall keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of *burning*."

Sc. 4. p. 160.

EDG. *Pillicock* sat on pillicock's hill.

In the metrical romance of *Sir Gawain and Sir Galaron*, there is this line,

"His polemous with *pelicocus* were poudred to pay."

Pinkerton's *Scotish poems*, vol. iii. 214.

In the comedy of *Ignoramus* by Ruggles, Act iii. Sc. 6, Cupes talks of "quimbiblos, indenturas, *pilicoccos*, calimancas;" where it is perhaps a new-fangled term for any kind of stuff or cloth. There is an attempt to explain the word in Warner's *Letter to Garrick*, p. 30; but whoever would be certain of finding the exact meaning, may consult, besides the article in *Minshew*, 9299, the following books—Durfey's *Pills to purge melancholy*, iv. 311—The *Nightingale*, (a collection of songs) 1738, p. 380—Lyndsay's *Works*, as edited by Mr. Chalmers, ii. 145, and the excellent glossary.—Florio's *Italian dictionary*, 1611, under the articles *piviolo*, and *rozzone*.

Sc. 4. p. 162.

Edg. Keep thy pen from *lenders books*.

When spendthrifts and distressed persons resorted to usurers or tradesmen for the purpose of raising money by means of shop-goods or *brown paper commodities*, they usually entered their promissory notes or other similar obligations in books kept for that purpose. It is to this practice that Edgar alludes.

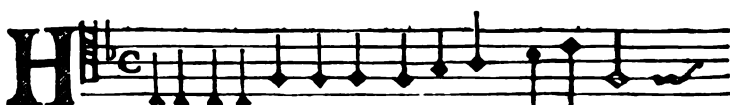
In Lodge's *Looking-glasse for London and Englande*, 1598, 4to, a usurer says to a gentleman, "I have thy hand set to my book, that thou received'st fortie pounds of me in money." To which the other answers, "It was your device, to colour the statute, but your conscience knowes what I had." Parke, in his *Curtaine-drawer of the world*, speaking of a country gentleman, alludes to the extravagance of his back, which had got him into *the mercer's book*.

Sc. 4. p. 163.

Edg. — ha, no nonny.

This was the burden of many old songs. One of these, being connected with Mr. Henley's cu-

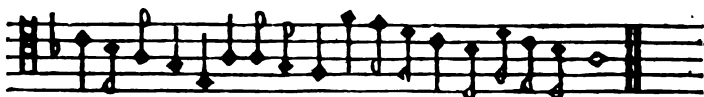
rious note, is here presented to the reader. It is taken from a scarce collection, entitled *Melismata. Musicall phansies, fitting the court, citie and countrey humours, To 3, 4, and 5 voyces, 1611, 4to.* In Playford's *Musical companion*, p. 55, the words are set to a different tune.



E that will an Ale-house keepe must have three things in store,



a Chamber and a feather Bed, a Chimney and a hey no-ny no-ny



hay no-ny no-ny, hey nony no, hey nony no, hey nony no.



Sc. 4. p. 164.

LEAR. — unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, *forked* animal as thou art.

Forked is a very strange epithet, but must be taken literally. See a note by Mr. Steevens in Act iv. Sc. 6, of this play. The Chinese in their

written language represent a man by the following character.



Sc. 6. p. 176.

FOOL. He's mad that trusts in the tameness of a wolf, a horse's *health*, a boy's love, or a whore's oath.

Though *health* will certainly do, it has probably been substituted for *heels*, by some person who regarded it as an improved reading. There are several proverbs of this kind. That in the text has not been found elsewhere, and may be the invention of Shakspeare. The Italians say, *Of a woman beware before, of a mule beware behind, and of a monk beware on all sides*; the French, *Beware of a bull's front, of a mule's hinder parts, and of all sides of a woman*. In Samuel Rowland's excellent and amusing work, entitled *The choice of change, containing the triplicity of divinitie, philosophie, and poetrie*, 1585, 4to, we meet with this proverbial saying, "Trust not 3 thinges, dogs teeth, horses feete, womens protestations."

Sc. 6. p. 184.

Edg. Poor Tom, *thy horn is dry.*

On this speech Dr. Johnson has remarked that men who begged under pretence of lunacy, used formerly to carry a horn and blow it through the streets. To account for Edgar's horn being *dry*, we must likewise suppose that the lunatics in question made use of this utensil to drink out of, which seems preferable to the opinion of Mr. Steevens, that these words are "a proverbial expression, introduced when a man has nothing further to offer, when he has said all he has to say," the learned commentator not having adduced any example of its use. An opportunity here presents itself of suggesting a more correct mode of exhibiting the theatrical dress of Poor Tom than we usually see, on the authority of Randle Holme in his most curious and useful work *The academy of armory*, book III. ch. iii. p. 161, where he says that the *Bedlam* has "a long staff and a cow or ox-horn by his side; his cloathing fantastic and ridiculous; for being a madman, he is madly decked and dressed all over with rubins, feathers, cuttings of cloth, and what not, to make him seem a madman or one

distracted, when he is no other than a dissembling knave." It is said that about the year 1760 a poor idiot called *Cude Yeddy*, went about the streets of Hawick in Scotland habited much in the above manner, and rattling a cow's horn against his teeth. Something like this costume may be seen in the portrait of that precious knave *Mull'd Sack*, who carries a *drinking horn* on his staff. See Caulfield's *Portraits, memoirs, and characters of remarkable persons*, vol. ii.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 209.

ALB. Humanity must perforce *prey on itself*,
Like monsters of the deep.

"Fishes," says Dr. Johnson, "are the *only* animals that are known to prey upon their own species." But Shakspeare did not mean to insinuate this; for he has elsewhere spoken of "cannibals that each other eat." He only wanted a comparison. Many of the insect tribes prey on their own species, as spiders, scorpions, beetles, earwigs, blattæ, &c.

Sc. 4. p. 233.

LEAR. That fellow handles his bow like a *crow keeper*.

The notes on this passage serve only to *identify the character* of a crow-keeper; but the *comparison* still remains to be explained. On this occasion we must consult our sole preceptor in the manly and too much neglected science of archery, the venerable Ascham. In speaking of awkward shooters he says, "Another coureth downe and layeth out his buttockes, as though hee should *shoote at crows*."

Sc. 4. p. 234.

LEAR. O well-flown bird!

The notes are at variance as to whether Lear allude to archery or falconry. Certainly to the latter. In an old song on hawking set for four voices by Thomas Ravenscroft, *O well flown*, is a frequent address to the hawk.

Sc. 4. p. 239.

LEAR. Hark, in thine ear: change places; and *handy-dandy*, which is the justice, which is the thief?

Mr. Malone's explanation of this children's

sport is confirmed by the following extract from *A free discourse touching the murmurers of the tymes*, MS. "They hould safe your childrens patrymony, and play with your majestie as men play with little children at *handye dandy*, which hand will you have, when they are disposed to keep any thinge from them." The above *discourse* is a very bold and libellous address to King James I. on his pacific character, written, anonymously, with great powers of composition.

Sc. 4. p. 240.

LEAR. There thou might'st behold the great image of
authority: a dog's obey'd in office.—
Thou rascal beadle, hold thy bloody hand:
Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own
back;
Thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind,
For which thou whip'st her. The usurer hangs
the cozeners.
Through tatter'd clothes small vices do appear;
Robes and furr'd gowns hide all.

This admirable speech has a remarkable coincidence with the following passage from "*Parke's Curtaine-drawer of the world*," 1612, 4to, p. 16, a work of very considerable merit. "The potency and power of magnificence and greatnesse

dare looke sinne openly in the face in the very market place, and the eye of authority never takes notice thereof: the poore harlot must be stript and whipt for the crime that the courtly wanton and the citie-sinner ruffle out, and passe over and glory in, and account as nothing. The poore thiefe is hanged many times that hath stolne but the prise of a dinner, when sometimes hee that robbes both church and commonwealth is seene to ride on his footecloth." If this book was written according to its date, and Mr. Malone be right as to that of Lear, a fact which is not meant to be controverted, the merit of originality will rest with Shakspeare.

Sc. 4. p. 241.

Edg. O, matter and *impertinency* mix'd.

This word was not used in its modern and corrupted sense of *sauciness* or *intrusion*, but merely to express *something not belonging to the subject*. Thus, an old collection of domestic recipes &c. entitled, *The treasure of commodious conceits*, 1594, is said to be "not *impertinent* for every good huswife to use in her house amongst her own familie." It does not seem to have been used in the sense of *rude* or *unman-*

nerly till the middle of the seventeenth century ;
 nor in that of *saucy* till a considerable time after-
 wards.

Sc. 4. p. 241.

LEAR. ————— we came crying hither.

Thou know'st, the first time that we smell the air,
 We wawl and cry :—

Evidently taken from Pliny as translated by
 Philemon Holland. “Man alone, poor wretch
 [nature] hath laid all naked upon the bare earth,
 even on his birth day *to cry and wrawle* presently
 from the very first houre that he is borne into
 this world.” *Proeme* to book 7.

THE FOOL.

THE fool in this play is the genuine domestic
 buffoon ; but notwithstanding his sarcastical
 flashes of wit, for which we must give the poet
 credit, and ascribe them in some degree to what
 is called stage effect, he is a mere *natural* with a
 considerable share of cunning. Thus Edgar calls
 him *an innocent*, and every one will immediately

distinguish him from such a character as Touchstone. His dress on the stage should be parti-coloured; his hood crested either with a cock's-comb to which he often alludes, or with the cock's head and neck. His bauble should have a head like his own with a grinning countenance, for the purpose of exciting mirth in those to whom he occasionally presents it.

The kindness which Lear manifests towards his fool, and the latter's extreme familiarity with his master in the midst of the most poignant grief and affliction, may excite surprise in those who are not intimately acquainted with the simple manners of our forefathers. An almost contemporary writer has preserved to us a curious anecdote of William duke of Normandy, afterwards William I. of England, whose life was saved by the attachment and address of his fool. An ancient Flemish chronicle among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, 16, F. iii., commences with the exile of Salvard lord of Roussillon and his family from Burgundy. In passing through a forest, they are attacked by a cruel giant, who kills Salvard and several of his people; his wife Emergard and a few others only escaping. This scene the illuminator of the manuscript, which is of the fifteenth century, has chosen to exhibit.

He has represented Emergard as driven away in a covered cart or waggon by one of the servants. She is attended by a female, and in the front of the cart is placed her fool, with a countenance expressive of the utmost alarm at the impending danger. Nor would it be difficult to adduce, if necessary, similar instances of the reciprocal affection between these singular personages and those who retained them.

ON THE STORY OF THIS PLAY.

To the account already given of the materials which Shakspeare used, nothing perhaps of any moment can be added ; but for the sake of rendering this article more complete, it may be worth while to add that the *unpublished Latin Gesta Romanorum* contains the history of Lear and his daughters under different names, and with some little variety of circumstance. As it is not tedious, and has never been printed, at least as far as we know at present, it is here subjoined in its English form. The manuscript used on this occasion is No. 7333, in the Harleian collection.

“Theodosius regned, a wys emperour in the cite of Rome and myghti he was of power; the whiche emperour had thre doughters. So hit liked to this emperour to knowe which of his doughters lovid him best. And tho he seid to the eldest doughter, how moche lovist thou me? fforsoth, quod she, more than I do myself, therefore, quod he, thou shalt be hily avaunsed, and married her to a riche and myghti kyng. Tho he cam to the secund, and seid to her, doughter, how moche lovist thou me? As moche forsoth, she seid, as I do myself. So the emperour married her to a duc. And tho he seid to the thrid doughter, how moche lovist thou me? fforsoth, quod she, as moche as ye beth worthi, and no more. Tho seid the emperour, doughter, sith thou lovist me no more, thou shalt not be married so richely as thi susters beth. And tho he married her to an erle. Afir this it happid that the emperour held bataile ayend the king of Egypt. And the kyng drove the emperour oute of the empire, in so moche that the emperour had no place to abide ynn. So he wrote lettres ensealed with his ryng to his first doughter that seid that she lovid him more than herself, for to pray her of socouryng in that grete nede, bycause he was put oute of his empire. And when the doughter

had red thes lettres, she told hit to the kyng her husband. Tho, quod the kyng, it is good that we socour him in this nede. I shal, quod he, gadern an host and help him in all that I can or may, and that will not be do withoute grete costage. Yee, quod she, hit were sufficient if that we wold graunt him V knyghts to be in felashyp w^t him while he is oute of his empire. And so hit was ydo indede. And the doughter wrote ayen to the fader, that other help myght he not have but V knyghts of the kyng to be in his felashyp at the cost of the kyng her husband. And when the emperour herd this, he was hevy in his hert, and seid, alas! alas! all my trust was in her, for she seid she lovid me more than herself, and therefore I avaunced her so hye.

“Then he wrote to the seconde that seid she lovid him as moche as herself, and when she had herd his lettres, she shewid his erand to hir husband, and yaf him in counseil that he shuld fynde him mete and drink and clothing honestly, as for the state of such a lorde during tyme of his nede. And when this was graunted, she wrote lettres agein to hir fadir. The emperour was hevy w^t this answeare, and seid, sith my two doughters have thus yhevid me, sothely I shal

preve the third. And so he wrote to the thrid that seid she lovid him as moche as he was worthi, and praied her of socour in his nede, and tolde her the answeare of her two sustris. So the thrid doughter when she had considered the myschief of her ffader, she told her husbond in this fourme: my worshipfull lord do socour me now in this grete nede, my fadir is put oute of his empire and his heritage. Then spake he, what were thi will I did therto. That ye gadre a grete oste, quod she, and helpe him to fight ayens his enemys. I shal fulfill thi will, seide the erle, and gaderid a grete oste and yede with the emperoure at his owne costage to the bataile, and had the victorye, and set the emperour ayen in his heritage. And then seid the emperour, blessed be the hour I gate my yongist doughter : I lovid her lesse than eni of the othir, and now in my nede she hath socoured me, and the othir have yfailed me ; and therefore aftir my deth she shal have myn empire. And so hit was ydo in dede ; for aftir the deth of the emperour, the yongist doughter regned in his sted and ended pesibiy."

The same story is to be found in the formerly celebrated English chronicle erroneously supposed to have been written by Caxton, the early

part of which was copied from Geoffrey of Monmouth. The circumstance of its having been printed by Caxton more than once, with a continuation to his own time, probably by himself, seems to have occasioned the mistake. See what has been said of it before, in vol. i. p. 423, 424.



ROMEO AND JULIET.

ACT I.

Scene 1. *Page 325.*

SAM. Gregory, o' my word, we'll not *carry coals*.

GRE. No, for then we should be colliers.

OF the various conjectures on the origin and real meaning of this phrase, that by Mr. Steevens seems deserving of the preference. In a rare little pamphlet, entitled, *The cold yeare*, 1614, 4to, being a dialogue in which the casualties that happened in the great fall of snow are enumerated, one of the interlocutors, a North-country man, relates that on his approach to London he overtook a collier and his team, "walking as stately as if they scorned to *carry coales*." It was therefore a term of reproach to be called a collier; and thence, to *carry coals* was metaphorically used for any low or servile action. Barnaby Googe, in his *New yeares gift to the Pope's holinesse*, 1579, 4to, says he "had rather be a *collyer at Croydon* than a Pope at Rome."

A hint had been given, by a gentleman whose notions are on all occasions entitled to the high-respect and attention, that the phrase in question might have originated from *Proverbs*, xxv. 22. "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head." It is this is a metaphor expressive of the pain which a man shall suffer from the reproaches of conscience, and as such, has been adopted in our language. Thus, in *Newes from the North*, otherwise called *The conference between a Merchant and Pierce Plowman*, 1579, 4to, "Now God forbid that ever a lawyer should heap coales upon a merchant's head, or that a merchant should not be as willing and as ready to doo a goodly deed as a lawyer."

Sc. 2. p. 347.

CAP. Such comfort, as do *lusty young men* feel
When well-apparell'd *April* on the heel
Of limping winter treads.

Two of the commentators would read *lusty women*, and make the passage refer to the sensations of the farmer on the return of spring. One of them, Dr. Johnson, to render the present not objectionable, has been obliged to *invert* the

comparison. Capulet, in speaking of the delight which Paris is to receive in the society of the young ladies invited to his house, compares it to that which the month of April usually afforded to the youth of both sexes, when assembled in the green fields to enjoy their accustomed recreations. Independently of the frequent allusions in the writings of our old poets to April as the season of youthful pleasures, and which probably occurred to Shakspeare's recollection, he might besides have had in view the decorations which accompany the above month in some of the manuscript and printed calendars, where the young folks are represented as sitting together on the grass; the men ornamenting the girls with chaplets of flowers. From the following lines in one of these, the passage in question seems to derive considerable illustration.

"The next VI. yere maketh foure and twenty
 And figured is to *joly Apryll*
 That tyme of pleasures man hath moost plenty
 Fresshe and lovyng his *lustes* to fulfill."

Sc. 4. pp. 364. 367.

ROM. Give me a torch—

I'll be a candle-holder, and look on.

Froissart, describing a dinner on Christmas day

in the hall of the castle of Gaston Earl of Foix at Ortern, in the year 1388, has these words: "At mydnyght when he came out of his chambre into the halle to supper, he had ever before hym *twelve torches* brennyng, borne by *twelve varlettes* standyng before his table all supper." In Rankin's *Mirroure of monsters*, 1587, 4to, is the following passage: "This *maske* thus ended, wyth visardes accordingly appointed, there were certain petty fellows ready, as the custome is, in *maskes to carry torches*, &c." In the *Weiss kunig*, being a collection of wood engravings representing the actions of Maximilian the First, there is a very curious exhibition of a masque before the emperor, in which the performers appear with their visards, and one of them holds a torch in his hand. There is another print on the same subject by Albert Durer. The practice of carrying torch lights at entertainments continued even after the time of Shakspeare. See a future note on Hamlet, Act iii. Sc. 2.

Sc. 4. p. 368.

MER. If thou art dun, we'll draw thee from the mire.

There is no doubt that this is an allusion to some now forgotten sport or game, which gave

rise to a proverbial expression, *Dun is in the mire*, used when a person was at a stand, or plunged into any difficulty. We find it as early as Chaucer's time in the Manciple's prologue,

"Ther gan our hoste to jape and to play,
And sayde; sires, what? *Dun is in the mire.*"

How the above sport was practised we have still to learn. *Dun* is, no doubt, the name of a horse or an ass. There is an equivalent phrase, *Nothing is bolder than blynde Bayard which falleth oft in the mire*. See Dr. Bullein's *dialogue between soarenesse and chirurgi*, fo. 10; and there is also a proverb, *As dull as Dun in the mire*.

Sc. 4. p. 376.

MER. ——— This is that very Mab
That plats the manes of horses in the night.

No attempt has hitherto been made to explain this line, which alludes to a very singular superstition not yet forgotten in some parts of the country. It was believed that certain malignant spirits, whose delight was to wander in groves and pleasant places, assumed occasionally the likenesses of women clothed in white; that in this character they sometimes haunted stables in

the night-time, carrying in their hands tapers of wax, which they dropped on the horses' manes, thereby plaiting them in inextricable knots, to the great annoyance of the poor animals and vexation of their masters. These hags are mentioned in the works of William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris in the 13th century. There is a very uncommon old print by Hans Burgmair relating to this subject. A witch enters the stable with a lighted torch; and previously to the operation of entangling the horse's mane, practises her enchantments on the groom, who is lying asleep on his back, and apparently influenced by the nightmare. The *Belemnites*, or elf-stones, were regarded as charms against the last-mentioned disease and against evil spirits of all kinds; but the *ceraunia* or *bætuli*, and all perforated flint-stones, were not only used for the same purpose, but more particularly for the protection of horses and other cattle, by suspending them in stables, or tying them round the necks of the animals.

The next line,

"And bakes the elf-locks in foul sluttish hairs,"

seems to be unconnected with the preceding, and to mark a superstition which, as Dr. Warburton has observed, may have originated from the *plica*

Polonica, which was supposed to be the operation of wicked elves; whence the clotted hair was called *elf-locks* and *elf-knots*. Thus Edgar talks of "*elfing* all his hair in *knots*." Lodge, in his *Wit's miserie*, 1599, 4to, describing a devil whom he names *Brawling-contention*, says; "his ordinary apparell is a little low-crown'd hat with a fether in it like a forehorse; his haire are curld, and full of *elves locks* and nitty for want of keming."

ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 398.

ROM. It is the East, and Juliet is the sun.

This line in particular, and perhaps the whole of the scene, has been imitated by the ingenious author of the Latin comedy of *Labyrinthus*. In Act iii. Sc. 4, two lovers meet at night, and the Romeo of the piece says to his mistress, "*Quid mihi noctem commemoras, mea salus? Splendens nunc subito illuxit dies, ubi tu primum, mea lux, oculorum radiis hasce dispulisti tenebras.*" This excellent play was acted before King James I. at Cambridge, and for bustle and contrivance has perhaps never been exceeded.

Sc. 2. p. 398.

JUL. Thou art thyself *though*, not a Montagu.

Dr. Johnson would have substituted *then* for *though*; but without necessity, because in *that sense* the latter word was anciently written *tho*: unskilful printers, deceived by sound, substituted *though*; whence the ambiguity has arisen. Thus Chaucer in his *Canterbury tales*, v. 2214,

"Yet sang the larke, and Palamon right *tho*
With holy herte and with a high corāge
He rose."

And again, v. 2392,

"For thilk sorrow that was *tho* in thyn herte."

Thus much in explanation of *though*, if put here for *then*, which is by no means clear. Mr. Malone's quotations on the other side of the question carry great weight with them.

Sc. 2. p. 400.

ROM. When he bestrides the lazy-pacing clouds
And sails upon the bosom of the air.

On this occasion Shakspeare recollected the 104th *psalm*, "Who maketh the clouds his

charet, who walketh upon the wings of the winde."

Sc. 2. p. 405.

JUL. ——— at lovers perjuries,
They say, Jove laughs.

This Shakspeare found in Ovid's *Art of love*; perhaps in Marlow's translation; book I.

"For Jove himself sits in the azure skies,
And laughs below at lovers perjuries."

With the following beautiful antithesis to the above lines, every reader of taste will be gratified. It is given *memoriter* from some old play, the name of which is forgotten;

"When lovers swear true faith, the list'ning angels
Stand on the golden battlements of heaven,
And waft their vows to the eternal throne."

Sc. 2. p. 410.

ROM. How *silver-sweet* sound lovers tongues by night.

In *Pericles*, Act v., we have *silver-voic'd*. Perhaps these epithets have been formed from the common notion that silver mixed with bells softens and improves their tone. We say likewise that a person is *silver-tongued*.

Sc. 3. p. 414.

FRI. O mickle is the powerful grace, that lies
In herbs, plants, stones, and their true qualities;
For nought so vile that on the earth doth live,
But to the earth some special good doth give;
Nor aught so good, but strain'd from that fair use
Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.

Thus all the copies. But in Swan's *Speculum mundi*, the first edition of which was published in 1635, they are quoted with the following variations;

"O mickle is the powerful *good* that lies
In herbs, *trees*, stones, and their true qualities;
For nought so vile that on the earth doth live,
But to the earth some *secret* good doth give.
And nought so rich on either rock or shelf;
But, if unknown, lies uselesse to itself."

Sc. 4. p. 427.

MER. — for this driveling love is like a great natural,
that runs lolling up and down *to hide his bauble*
in a hole.

When the physical conformation of idiots is considered, the latent but obscene allusion which this speech conveys will be instantly perceived.

What follows is still less worthy of *particular* illustration. Mercutio riots in this sort of language. The epithet *driveling* is applied to love as a *slavering idiot*; but Sir Philip Sidney has made Cupid an *old drivell*. See the lines quoted from the *Arcadia* by Dr. Farmer, *Much ado about nothing*, Act iii. Sc. 2.

Sc. 4. p. 431.

NURSE. I pray you sir, what *saucy merchant* was this, that was so full of his *ropery*?

Mr. Steevens has justly observed that the term *merchant* was anciently used in contradistinction to *gentleman*. *Whetstone*, in his *Mirour for majestates of cyties*, 1584, 4to, speaking of the usurious practices of the citizens of London who attended the gaming-houses for the purpose of supplying the gentlemen players with money, has the following remark: "The extremity of these mens dealings hath beene and is so cruell as there is a natural malice generally impressed in the hearts of the gentlemen of England towards the citizens of London, insomuch as if they odiously name a man, they forthwith call him, a *trimme merchaunt*. In like despight the citizen calleth every rascall a *joly gentleman*. And

truly this mortall envie betweene these two woorthie estates, was first engendred of the cruell usage of covetous merchaunts in hard bargaines gotten of gentlemen, and nourished with malicious words and revenges taken of both parties."

With respect to *ropery*,—the word seems to have been deemed unworthy of a place in our early dictionaries, and was probably coined in the mint of the slang or canting crew. It savours strongly of the halter, and appears to have signified a low kind of knavish waggery. From some other words of similar import, it may derive illustration. Thus a *rope-rype* is defined in Hulæt's *Abcedarium* to be "an ungracious waghalter, *nequam*;" and in Minshæu's dictionary, "one ripe for a rope, or for whom the gallowes grones." A *roper* has nearly the same definition in the English vocabulary at the end of Thomasii *Dictionarium*, 1615, 4to; but the word occasionally denoted a crafty fellow, or one who would practise a fraud against another (for which he might deserve hanging). So in the book of blasing of arms or coat armour, ascribed to Dame Juliana Bernes, the author says, "which crosse I saw but late in tharmes of a noble man: the whiche in very dede was somtyme a crafty man, a roper, as he himself sayd," sig. Aij. b. *Roper* had

also another sense, which, though rather foreign to the present purpose, is so quaintly expressed in one of our old dictionaries, that the insertion of it will doubtless be excused:—"Roper, *restio*, is he that loketh in at John Roper's window by translation, he that hangeth himselfe." Hulæt's *Abcedarium* Anglico-Latinum, 1552, folio. *Rope-tricks*, elsewhere used by Shakspeare, belongs also to this family.

Sc. 4. p. 431.

NURSE. I am none of his skains-mates.

This has been explained *cut-throat companions*, and *frequenters of the fencing-school*, from *skain*, a knife or dagger. The objection to this interpretation is, that the nurse could not very well compare herself with characters which it is presumed would scarcely be found among females of any description. One commentator thinks that she uses *skains-mates* for *kins-mates*, and *ropery* for *roguery*; but the latter words have been already shown to be synonymous, and the existence of such a term as *kins-mate* may be questioned. Besides, the nurse blunders only in the use of less obvious words.

The following conjecture is therefore offered,

but not with entire confidence in its propriety. It will be recollected that there are *skains of thread*; so that the good nurse may perhaps mean nothing more than *sempstresses*, a word not always used in the most honourable acceptation. She had before stated that she was "none of his flirt-gills."

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 452.

ROM. O! I am fortune's fool!

"I am always running in the way of evil fortune, *like the fool in the play*," says Dr. Johnson. There is certainly no allusion to any *play*. See the note in vol. i. p. 238.

Sc. 2. p. 456.

JUL. That *run-away's eyes* may wink.

A great deal of ingenious criticism has been expended in endeavouring to ascertain the meaning of this expression. Dr. Warburton thought the *runaway* in question was the *sun*; but Mr. Heath has most completely disproved this opinion.

Mr. Steevens considers the passage as extremely elliptical, and regards the *night* as the *runaway*; making Juliet wish that its eyes, the stars, might retire to prevent discovery. Mr. Justice Blackstone can perceive nothing *optative* in the lines, but simply a *reason* for Juliet's wish for a cloudy night; yet according to this construction of the passage, the grammar of it is not very easily to be discovered.

Whoever attentively reads over Juliet's speech, will be inclined to think, or even be altogether satisfied, that the *whole tenor* of it is *optative*. With respect to the calling night a runaway, one might surely ask how it can possibly be so termed in *an abstract point of view*? Is it a greater fugitive than the morning, the noon, or the evening? Mr. Steevens lays great stress on Shakspeare's having before called the night a runaway in *The merchant of Venice*,

“ For the close night doth play the *runaway* ;”

but there it was already far advanced, and might therefore with great propriety be said to *play the runaway*; here it was not begun. The same remark will apply to the other passage cited by Mr. Steevens from *The fair maid of the Exchange*. Where then is this *runaway* to be

ROMEO AND JULIET. 191

found? or can it be Juliet herself? She who had just been secretly married to the enemy of her parents might with some propriety be termed a runaway from her duty; but she had not abandoned her native pudency. She therefore invokes the night to veil those rites which she was about to perform, and to bring her Romeo to her arms in darkness and in silence. The lines that immediately follow may be thought to favour this interpretation; and the whole scene may possibly bring to the reader's recollection an interesting part in the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche.

Sc. 5. p. 483.

10 JUL. Hunting thee hence with *hunt's-up* to the day.

Of the notes on this line, that by Mr. Malone is most to the point. He has shown from Cotgrave, that the *hunt's-up* was "a morning song to a new married woman, &c.;" and it was, no doubt, an imitation of the tune to wake the hunters, noticed by Mr. Steevens, as was that in the celebrated Scottish *booke of godly and spirituall songs*, beginning,

" With hunts up, with huntis up,
It is now perfite day :
Jesus our king is gane in hunting,
Guba likes to speed they may."

It is not improbable that the following was the identical song composed by the person of the name of Gray mentioned in Mr. Ritson's note. It occurs in a collection entitled *Hunting, hawking, &c.*, already cited in the course of the remarks on *The merry wives of Windsor*. There was likewise a country dance with a similar title.

CHO. { The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
Sing merrily wee, the hunt is up,
The birds they sing,
The Deare they fling,
Hey, nony nony-no :
The hounds they crye,
The hunters flye,
Hey trolilo, trololilo.
The hunt is up, *ut supra*.

The wood resounds
To heere the hounds,
Hey, nony nony-no :
The rocks report
This merry sport,
Hey, trolilo, trololilo.

CHO. { The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
Sing merrily wee, the hunt is up.

Then hye apace,
Unto the chase,
Hey nony, nony-no ;
Whilst every thing
Doth sweetly sing,
Hey trolilo, trololilo.

CHO. { The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
Sing merrily wee, the hunt is up.

Sc. 5. p. 496.

Nurse. ————— an eagle, madam,
Hath not so *green*, so quick, so fair an eye.

Besides the authorities already produced in favour of *green* eyes, and which show the impropriety of Hanmer's alteration to *keen*, a hundred others might, if necessary, be given. The early French poets are extremely fond of alluding to them under the title of *yeux vers*, which Mons. Le Grand has in vain attempted to convert into *yeux vairs*, or grey eyes*. It must be confessed that the scarcity, if not total absence of such eyes in modern times, might well have excited the doubts of the above intelligent and agreeable writer. For this let naturalists, if they can, account. It is certain that green eyes were found among the ancients. Plautus thus alludes to them in his *Curculio* :

“ Qui hic est homo
Cum collativo ventre, atque oculis *herbeis* ? ”

Lord Verulam says: “ Great eyes with a *green* circle between the white and the white of the

* *Fabliaux ou contes*, tom. iv. p. 215.

eye, signify long life." *Hist. of life and death*, p. 124. Villa real, a Portuguese, has written a treatise in praise of them, and they are even said to exist now among his countrymen. See Pinkerton's *Geography*, vol. i. p. 556, and Steevens's *Shakspeare*, vol. v. 164. 203.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 508.

CAP. Where have you been *gadding* ?

Mr. Steevens remarks that "the primitive sense of this word was to straggle from house to house and collect money under pretence of singing carols to the blessed Virgin;" and he quotes a note on Milton's *Lycidas* by Mr. Warton: but this derivation seems too refined. Mr. Warton's authority is an old register at Gadderston, in these words, "Receyvid at the *gadyng* with Saynte Mary songe at Crismas." If the original were attentively examined, it would perhaps turn out that the word in question has some mark of contraction over it, which would convert it into *gaderyng*, i. e. gathering or collecting money, and not simply *going about from house to house* according to Mr. Warton's explanation.

Sc. 5. p. 525.

Fai. ——— and stick your *rosemary*
On this fair corse—

This plant was used in various ways at funerals. Being an evergreen, it was regarded as an emblem of the soul's immortality. Thus in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, Act v. Sc. 1.

“ ——— If there be
Any so kind as to accompany
My body to the earth, let them not want
For entertainment; pr'ythee see they have
A *sprig of rosemary* dip'd in common water
To smell to as they walk along the streets.”

In an obituary kept by Mr. Smith, secondary of one of the Compters, and preserved among the Sloanian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 886, is the following entry: “Jan'y. 2. 1671. Mr. Cornelius Bee bookseller in Little Britain died; buried Jan. 4. at Great St. Bartholomew's without a sermon, without wine or wafers, only gloves and *rosmary*.”

And Mr. Gay, when describing Blouzelinda's funeral, records that

“ Sprigg'd *rosemary* the lads and lasses bore.”

Sc. 5. p. 528.

PET. No money, on my faith ; but the *gleek* : I will
give you the *minstrel*.

From what has been said in vol. i. p. 191, it becomes necessary to withdraw so much of a former note as relates to the *game* of *gleek*. *To give the minstrel*, is no more than a punning phrase for *giving the gleek*. Minstrels and jesters were anciently called *gleekmen* or *gligmen*.

Sc. 5. p. 529.

PET. When *griping grief* the heart doth wound
And *doleful dumps* the mind oppress.

The following stanza from one of Whitney's *Emblems*, 1586, 4to, is not very dissimilar from that of Richard Edwards, communicated in the note by Sir John Hawkins, and may serve to confirm the propriety of Mr. Steevens's observation, that the epithet *griping* was not calculated to excite laughter in the time of Shakspeare.

" If griping greifes have harbour in thie breste
And pininge cares laie seige unto the same,
Or straunge conceiptes doe reave thee of thie rest,
And daie and nighte do bringe thee out of frame :
Then choose a freinde, and doe his counsaile crave,
Least secret sighes, doe bringe untimelic grave."

Gripping griefs and *doleful dumps* are very thickly interspersed in Grange's *Golden Aphroditis*, 1577, 4to, and in many other places. They were great favourites; but griefs were not always *gripping*. Thus in Turbervile's translation of Ovid's *epistle from Hero to Leander*;

"Which if I heard, of troth
For *grunting* grieffe I die."

ACT V.

Scène 1. Page 536.

ROM.—An *alligator* stuff'd——

Our dictionaries supply no materials towards the etymology of this word, which was probably introduced into the language by some of our early voyagers to the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in the newly discovered world. They would hear the Spaniards discoursing of the animal by the name of *el lagarto*, or the lizard; Lat. *lacerta*; and on their return home, they would inform their countrymen that this sort of crocodile was called an *alligator*. It would not be difficult to trace other corrupted words in a similar manner.

STORY OF THE PLAY.

It has hitherto remained unnoticed, that one of the material incidents in this drama is to be found in *The love adventures of Abrocomas and Anthia*, usually called the *Ephesiacs* of Xenophon of Ephesus. The heroine of this romance, separated, by a series of misfortunes, from her husband, falls into the hands of robbers, from whom she is rescued by a young nobleman called Perilaus. He becomes enamoured of her; and she, fearing violence, affects to consent to marry him; but on the arrival of the appointed time, swallows a poisonous draught which she had procured from Eudoxus, an old physician and the friend of Perilaus, to whom she had communicated the secret of her history. Much lamentation is made for her death, and she is conveyed with great pomp to a sepulchre. As she had only taken a sleeping potion, she soon awakes in the tomb, which, on account of the riches it contained, is plundered by some thieves, who also carry her off. This work was certainly not published nor translated in the time of Luigi da Porto, the original narrator of the story of *Romeo and Juliet*;

but there is no reason why he might not have seen a copy of the original in manuscript.

Two incidents in this Greek romance are likewise to be found in *Cymbeline*; one of which is the following. Anthia having become the slave of Manto and her husband, he is captivated with her beauty; and this coming to the knowledge of the jealous Manto, she orders a trusty servant to carry Anthia into a wood and put her to death. This man, like the servant in Boccaccio, and Pisanio in Shakspeare, commiserates the situation of Anthia, spares her life, and provides the means for her future safety. A similar occurrence is introduced into some of the tales of the middle ages. The other is the above-mentioned draught of poison swallowed by Imogen, as by Anthia, though not with precisely the same effect. As it is not to be found either in Boccaccio or in the old story-book of *Westward for smelts*, one might suspect that some novel, imitated from the *Ephesiacs*, was existing in the time of Shakspeare, though now unknown.



HAMLET.

ACT I.

Scene 1. Page 9.

MAR. Thou art a *scholar*, speak to it, Horatio.

THE reason why the common people believed that ghosts were only to be addressed by scholars seems to have been, that the exorcisms of troublesome spirits were usually performed in *Latin*,

Sc. 1. p. 21.

HOR. The *cock* that is the *trumpet to the morn*,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the God of day; and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
The extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine.

Besides the hymn of Prudentius referred to in Dr. Farmer's note, there is another said to have been composed by Saint Ambrose, and formerly used in the Salisbury service. It contains the following lines, which so much resemble Horatio's

speech, that one might almost suppose Shakspeare had seen them :

“ *Preco diei jam sonat,
Noctis profundæ pervigil ;
Nocturna lux vianibus,
A nocte noctem segregans.
Hoc excitatus Lucifer,
Solvit polum caligine ;
Hoc omnis errorum chorus
Viam nocendi deserit.
Gallo canente spes reedit, &c.*”

See *Expositio hymnorum secundum usum Sarum*, pr. by R. Pynson, n. d. 4to, fo. vii. b. The epithets *extravagant* and *erring* are highly poetical and appropriate, and seem to prove that Shakspeare was not altogether ignorant of the Latin language.

Sc. 2. p. 35.

HAM. Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self slaughter.

Mr. Steevens says, “ there are yet those who suppose the old reading (cannon, in the sense of artillery) to be the true one.” He himself was not of the number. It must be owned that *fixing a cannon* is an odd mode of vengeance on the part of the Deity ; yet it is still more difficult

to conceive in what manner this instrument could operate in avenging *suicide*. The pedants of Hierocles, who were the Gothamites of their time, might, if now existing, be competent to explain all this ; or, indeed, we might ourselves suppose that suicides could be blown into atoms as the seapoys sometimes are, by tying them to the cannon's mouth, a method equally humane with the practice of driving stakes through their bodies. Mr. Malone's happy quotation has for ever *fixed* the proper meaning.



Sc. 2. p. 40.

HAM. ——— the *funeral bak'd meats*
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.

The practice of making entertainments at funerals which prevailed in this and other countries, and which is not even at present quite disused in some of the northern counties of England, was certainly borrowed from the *cœna feralis* of the Romans, alluded to in Juvenal's fifth satire, and in the laws of the twelve tables. It consisted of an offering of a small plate of milk, honey, wine, flowers, &c., to the ghost of the deceased. In the instances of heroes and other great characters,

The same custom appears to have prevailed among the Greeks. With us the appetites of the living are consulted on this occasion. In the North this feast is called an *arval* or *arvil-supper*; and the loaves that are sometimes distributed among the poor, *arval-bread*. Not many years since one of these arvals was celebrated in a village in Yorkshire at a public-house, the sign of which was the family arms of a nobleman whose motto is *VIRTUS POST FUNERA VIVIT*. The undertaker, who, though a clerk, was no scholar, requested a gentleman present to explain to him the meaning of these Latin words, which he readily and facetiously did in the following manner : *Virtus*, a parish clerk, *vivit*, lives well, *post funera*, at an *arval*. The latter word is apparently derived from some lost Teutonic term that indicated a funeral pile on which the body was burned in times of Paganism. Thus *ævill* in Islandic signifies the inside of an oven. The common parent seems to have been *ar*, fire; whence *ara*, an altar of fire, *ardeo*, *aridus*, &c. &c. So the pile itself was called *ara* by Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 177 ;

“ *Haud mora, festinant flentes ; aramque sepulchri
Congerere arboribus, cœloque educere certant.* ”

 Sc. 2. p. 41.

HAM. He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.

In further support of the proposed elegant emendation, “*Eye shall not look, &c.*,” this passage in 1 *Corinth.* ch. ii. v. 9, may be adduced,—
“*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the things which he hath prepared for them that love him.*”
An objection of some weight may however be made to this change; which is, that in recitation some ambiguity might arise, or at least the force of it would not be perceived; whereas the other reading could not be mistaken.

 Sc. 3. p. 51.

POL. But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledg'd comrade.

In Taverner's *Proverbes or Adagies*, gathered out of the *Chiliades of Erasmus*, 1569, 12mo, is the following adage: “*Ne cuivis porrigas dexteram.*” Holde not forth thy hande to every man. He meaneth wee should not unadvisedlie admitte every body into our frendship and fami-

liaritie." In the margin of the copy from which this extract is made, some person has *written* the above lines from Hamlet, on which the whole serves as an excellent comment, supporting Dr. Johnson's explanation of them in a remarkable manner.

Sc. 4. p. 59.

HAM. The king doth wake to-night, and takes his *rouse*.

This word is used in the various significations of a riotous noise, a drunken debauch, and a large portion of liquor. We had it probably from our Saxon or Danish progenitors; and though the original word is lost, it remains in the German *rausch*. Hence our *carouse*; *roister* is of the same family, and perhaps the word *row*, which was very much used a few years since. The Greeks too had their *καρῳσις*, *nimia ebrietas*.

Sc. 4. p. 60.

HAM. And as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumph of his pledge.

Thus Cleaveland in his *Fuscara*, or *The bee errant*,

"Tuning his draughts with drowsie hums
As Danes carowse by kettle-drums."

Sc. 4. p. 60.

HAM. Keeps *wassel* —

As the whole that appertains to this ancient, and, as connected with convivial manners, interesting word, lies scattered in various places, and has been detailed by writers whose opinions are extremely discordant, an attempt seemed necessary to digest within a reasonable compass the most valuable of the materials on the subject. There cannot be the smallest doubt that the term itself is to be sought for in the well-known story of Vortigern and Rowena, or Ronix, the daughter of Hengist; the earliest authority for which is that of Walter Calenius, who supplied the materials for Geoffrey of Monmouth's history. He relates that on Vortigern's first interview with the lady, she kneeled before him, and presenting a cup of wine, said to him, "Lord king, *wacht heil*," or in purer Saxon *wæs hæł*; literally, be health, or health be to you! As the king was unacquainted with the Saxon language, he inquired the meaning of these words; and being told that they wished him health, and that he should answer them by saying *drinc heil*, he did so, and commanded Rowena to drink. Then, taking the cup from her hand, he kissed the damsel and pledged her. The historian adds, that

from that time to his own the custom remained in Britain that whoever drank to another at a feast said *wacht heil*, and he that immediately after received the cup answered *drinc heil*. Robert of Brunne, in translating this part of Geoffrey of Monmouth, has preserved a curious addition to it. He states that Vortigern, not comprehending the words of Rowena, demanded their meaning from one of his Britons, who immediately explained to him the Saxon custom as follows :

“ This es ther custom and ther gest,
 Whan thei are at the ale or fest,
 Ilk man that lovis qware him think,
 Salle say *Wasseille*, and to him drink.
 He that bidis salle say, *Wassaile*;
 The tother salle say again, *Drink haille*.
 That sais *Wasseille* drinkis of the cop,
 Kissand his felaw he gives it up ;
Drinkeille, he sais, and drinks therof,
 Kissand him in bourd and skof.
 The king said as the knight gan ken
Drinkeille, smiland on Rouewen,
 Rouwen drank as hire list,
 And gave the king, sine him kist.
 There was the first wassaille in dede
 And that first of fame yede
 Of that wassaille men told grete tale,
 And wassaille whan thei were at ale
 And drinkeille to tham that drank
 Thus was wassaille tane to thank.”

An old metrical fragment preserved by Hearne in his glossary to Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, carries the practice of wassailing much higher, even to the time of Saint Alban in the third century :

“ In that tyme weteth welle,
Cam ferst wassayle and drynkehayl
In to this londe, withowte wene,
Thurghe a mayde, brygh and schene
Sche was cleput mayde Ynge.”

The chronicler proceeds to relate a story of this Ynge, who quitted Saxony with several others of her countrymen on account of hunger, and, arriving in Britain, obtained of the king as much land as she should be able to cover with a bull's hide. She afterwards invited the king and his nobles to a feast, and *giving him wassel*, treacherously slew him, her companions following the example by murdering the nobles. By these means she obtained possession of the whole kingdom, which was from her afterwards called *Yngland*. This statement is unworthy of notice in an historical point of view, being manifestly a corrupt account of the arrival of Hengist as related by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the story of Vortigern is not improbable, and has at least furnished the origin of the words *wæs hæl* and *drinc hæl*, as

used at convivial meetings in this country ; for whatever may have been said or imagined concerning any previous custom of health-drinking among the Saxons or other German nations, it is certain that no equivalent term with our *wassel* is to be found in any of the Teutonic dialects.

Among other valuable remarks that have already been made in some notes on this word by Messrs. Steevens and Malone, it has been observed that the *wassel* bowl was particularly used at the season of Christmas, and that in process of time *wassel* came to signify not only meetings of rustic mirth, but also general riot, intemperance, and festivity. In the eleventh volume of *Archæologia*, the learned Dr. Milner has exhibited and described an ancient oaken cup, formerly belonging to the abbey of Glastonbury, which with great probability he supposes to be of Saxon times, and to have been used for wasselling. In *The antiquarian repertory*, vol. i. p. 217, there is an account, accompanied with an engraving, of an oaken chimney-piece in a very old house at Berlen near Snodland in Kent, on which is carved a *wassel* bowl resting on the branches of an apple-tree, alluding, probably, to part of the materials of which the liquor was composed. On one side is the word *wasshell*, and on the other *Drinchele*.

This is certainly a very great curiosity of its kind, and at least as old as the fourteenth century. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, in his will gave to Sir John Bridlewood a silver cup called *wassail*; and it appears that John Duke of Bedford, the regent, by his first will bequeathed to John Barton, his maitre d'hotel, a silver cup and cover, on which was inscribed *WASHAYL*. During the Christmas holidays these wassel-bowls were often carried from house to house by the common people with a view to collect money. There are, besides, other significations of the word *wassel* that deserve to be noticed. These are, 1. A drinking song sung on the eve of Twelfth-day. 2. A custom of throwing toast to apple-trees for the purpose of procuring a fruitful year; which, says Mr. Grose, who has mentioned this practice in his provincial glossary, seems to be a relic of the heathen sacrifice to Pomona. 3. The contents of the wassel-cup, which were of different materials, as spiced wine or ale, with roasted apples and sugar, mead, or metheglin, &c. There was also what was called *wassel* or more properly *wastel-bread*, which may be deserving of particular notice, as there is much diversity of opinion among those who have mentioned it. Bishop Lowth, in his Life of William of Wykeham, had supposed that

the term was derived from the *wastell*, *vessell* or *basket* in which the bread was made, or carried or weighed; an etymology which is with great reason contested by Dr. Milner in his paper on the Glastonbury cup. The latter writer is of opinion, that during the times of wasselling a finer sort of bread was provided, which on that account was called *wassel-bread*; and other persons had already conceived that the bread in question took its name from being dipped in the *wassel-bowl*. As a preliminary objection to these conjectures, it must be observed that the genuine orthography of the word is *wastel*, and not *wassel*, which is undoubtedly a corruption, and has led to much misconception. The earliest instance in which mention is made of *wastel-bread* is the statute 51 Henry III., entitled *Assisa panis et cerevisiæ*; where it is coupled with the *simnel bread*, which was made of the very finest flour, and twice baked. It appears from the same statute that *wastel-bread* was next in fineness to the *simnel*, and is described as *white bread well baked*. There does not seem therefore any reason for concluding that the *wastel* bread was in *particular*, but in *general use at all seasons*. We are told by Hoveden the historian, that at an interview which took place

between William king of Scotland and Richard the First, at Northampton, a charter was granted to the Scottish monarch, in which it was agreed, that, whenever he should be summoned to the English court for the performance of homage, his daily allowance, among other things, should consist of twelve *simnels* and as many *wastels*. In Matthew Paris's history of the abbots of Saint Alban's, p. 141, it is said of the abbot; "*Solus in refectorio prandebit supremus, habens vastellum.*" It is surprising how Mr. Watts the editor should misconceive the meaning of this word so much as to call it a *canopy*; nor is it indeed much less extraordinary that Dr. Milner, who is so well skilled in ecclesiastical antiquities, should have supposed it to signify a *wassel-bowl*. The regulation is general, and it had escaped the learned writer's recollection that *wasselling* was of a particular season; for it could not be applied in its subordinate sense of revelling or rioting, to so grave a person as an abbot. The Doctor might have been misled by the authority of Mr. Blount in his edition of Cowel's law dictionary, where the conjecture on the part of Mr. Somner, that the *wastel* bread might have been derived from *pastillus*, is termed *unlucky*; but, as it is presumed, without sufficient reason, although it may not be

the exact origin of the expression. Chaucer, speaking of his Prioress, says;

“ Of smale houndes hadde she, that she fedde
With rosted flesh, and milk, and *wastel-brede*.”

We cannot suppose that these animals would have been regaled with a food which was set apart for particular festivities, but rather with what was to be procured at all times, though of a more delicate and expensive nature. In short, what seems to be the most probable original of this much disputed word is the French *gâteau*, anciently written *gastel*, in the Picard language *ouastel* or *watel*, and signifying a cake; a name which might with great propriety have been applied to this sort of bread on account of its superior quality, in like manner as the *simnel* bread was so termed from the Latin *simila* the finest part of the flour. The cake-like form, too, of this kind of bread seems to be alluded to in the following extract from the register of William of Wykeham, which has been quoted by Bishop Lowth for a very different, but, as it is submitted, inapplicable purpose: “ Octo panes *in wastellis*, ponderis cujuslibet wastelli unius miche conventualis,” i. e. eight loaves in the form of *wastels* or cakes, the weight of each being that of a conventual

manchet. And to conclude this part of the subject, in the old French language the term *was-telier* is used for a pastry-cook or maker of *was-tiaux*, where it is not likely that there could have been any connexion with our *wassel* in its Saxon and legitimate construction. What the heralds call *torteaures*, in reality little cakes, from the French *tourte*, were likewise termed *wastels*, as we learn from the old book on coat armour ascribed to Dame Juliana Bernes, the celebrated abbess of Sopewell near Saint Albans.

The *wassel songs* were sung during the festivities of Christmas, and, in earlier times, principally by those itinerant minstrels who frequented the houses of the gentry, where they were always certain of the most welcome reception. It has indeed been the chief purpose in discussing the present subject, to introduce to the reader's notice a composition of this kind, which is perhaps at the same time to be regarded as the most ancient drinking song, composed in England, that is extant. This singular curiosity has been written on a spare leaf in the middle of a valuable miscellaneous manuscript of the fourteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 16, E. viii. It is probably more than a century older

than the manuscript itself, and must have been composed at a time when the Norman language was very familiar in England. In the endeavour to translate it some difficulties were to be encountered ; but it has been an object to preserve the whole and sometimes literal sense of the original, whilst from the nature of the English stanza it was impossible to dispense with amplification.

AN ANGLO-NORMAN SONG.

Seignors ore entendez a nus,
 De loinz sumes venuz a wous,
 Pur quere NOEL ;
 Car lem nus dit que en cest hostel
 Soleit tenir sa feste anuel
 A hi cest jur.
 Deu doint a tus icels joie d'amurs
 Qi a DANZ NOEL ferunt honors.

Seignors jo vus di por veir
 Ke DANZ NOEL ne velt avoir
 Si joie non ;
 E repleni sa maison,
 De payn, de char & de peison,
 Por faire honor
 Deu doint a tuz ces joie damur.

Seignors il est crié en lost,
 Qe cil qui despent bien et tost,
 E largement ;
 E fet les granz honors sovent
 Deu li duble quanque il despent
 Por faire honor.

Deu doint a.

Seignors escriez les malveis,
 Car vus nel les troverez jamcis
 De bone part :
 Botun, batun, ferun gruinar,
 Car tot dis a le quer cuuard
 Por faire honor.

Deu doint.

NOEL beyt bien li vin Engleis
 E li Gascoin & li Franceys
 E l'Angevin :
 NOEL fait beivre son veisin,
 Si quil se dort, le chief enclin,
 Sovent le jor.

Deu doint a tuz cels.

Seignors jo vus di par NOEL,
 E par li sires de cest hostel,
 Car bevez ben :
 E jo primes beurai le men,
 Et pois apres chescon le soen,
 Par mon conseil,
 Si jo vus di trestoz *Wesseyl*
 Dehaiz eit qui ne dirra *Drincheyl* !

TRANSLATION.

Lordings, from a distant home,
To seek old CHRISTMAS we are come,
 Who loves our minstrelsy :
And here, unless report mis-say,
The grey-beard dwells ; and on this day
Keeps yearly wassel, ever gay,
 With festive mirth and glee.

To all who honour CHRISTMAS, and commend our lays,
Love will his blessings send, and crown with joy their days*.

Lordings list, for we tell you true ;
CHRISTMAS loves the jolly crew
 That cloudy care defy :
His liberal board is deftly spread
With manchet loaves and wastel-bread ;
His guests with fish and flesh are fed,
 Nor lack the stately pye†.

* These two lines seem intended, in the original, as a kind of burden or chorus at the end of each stanza ; but as they only intrude upon the measure, the translation were perhaps better without them.

† It was the custom at this time to serve up at entertainments peacock and pheasant pies, the forms of those elegant

Lordings, you know that far and near
 The saying is, " Who gives good cheer,
 And freely spends his treasure ;
 On him will bounteous heaven bestow
 Twice treble blessings here below,
 His happy hours shall sweetly flow
 In never-ceasing pleasure."

Lordings, believe us, knaves abound ;
 In every place are flatterers found ;
 May all their arts be vain !
 But chiefly from these scenes of joy
 Chase sordid souls that mirth annoy,
 And all who with their base alloy
 Turn pleasure into pain.

CHRISTMAS quaffs our English wines*,
 Nor Gascoigne juice, nor French declines,
 Nor liquor of Anjou :
 He puts th' insidious goblet round,
 Till all the guests in sleep are drown'd,
 Then wakes 'em with the tabor's sound,
 And plays the prank anew.

birds being externally preserved, and much pomp bestowed on their appearance. See what has been already said on this subject in vol. i. p. 472.

* This is a stubborn fact against the opinion of those who maintain that wine was not made in England. See the controversy on this subject in *Archæologia*, vol. iii.

Lordings, it is our host's command,
 And CHRISTMAS joins him hand in hand,
 To drain the brimming bowl :
 And I'll be foremost to obey ;
 Then pledge me sirs, and drink away,
 For CHRISTMAS revels here to day,
 And sways without control.

Now WASSEL to you all ! and merry may ye be !
 But foul that wight befall, who DRINKS not HEALTH to me !

Sc. 4. p. 60.

HAM. This heavy-headed revel, east and west,
 Makes us traduc'd, and tax'd of other nations :
They clepe us drunkards.

Dr. Johnson has noticed the frequent allusions in this play to the king's intemperance, a failing that seems to have been too common among the Danish sovereigns as well as their subjects. A lively French traveller being asked what he had seen in Denmark, replied ; "*rien de singulier, sinon qu'on y chante tous les jours, le roy boit ;*" alluding to the French mode of celebrating Twelfth-day. See De Brieux, *Origines de quelques coutumes*, p. 56. Heywood in his *Philocothonista, or The drunkard opened, dissected, and anatomized*, 1635, 4to, speaking of what he calls the *vinosity of nations*, says of

the Danes, that "they have made a profession thereof from antiquity, and are the first upon record that brought their wassell-bowles and el-bowe-deep healthes into this land."

Sc. 4. p. 68..

HAM. That thou, dead corse, again, in *complete* steel—

This word is accented in both ways by our old poets as suited the metre. Thus in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, edit. folio, 1621, p. 120 :

"Who arms himself so *complete* every way."

But in *King John*, Act ii. we have :

"Such as she is, in beauty, virtue, birth,
Is the young Dauphin, every way *complète* :
If not *complète*, oh say, he is not she."

Sc. 4. p. 68.

HAM. Say why is this, wherefore, *what should we do?*

This interrogation is perfectly consistent with the opinions entertained by our forefathers concerning ghosts, which they believed had some particular motive for quitting the mansions of the dead ; such as a desire that their bodies, if unburied, should receive Christian rites of sepul-

ture ; that a murderer might be brought to due punishment, as in the present instance ; with various other reasons. On this account Horatio had already thus invoked the ghost ;

“ If there be any good thing to be done,
That may *do ease to thee* and grace to me,
Speak to me.”

Some of these superstitions have been transmitted from the earliest times. It was the established opinion among the ancient Greeks, that such as had not received the funeral rites would be excluded from Elysium, and that on this account the departed spirits continued in a restless state until their bodies underwent the usual ceremony. Thus the wandering and rejected shade of Patroclus appears to Achilles in his sleep and demands the performance of his funeral. The Hecuba of Euripides supplies another instance of a troubled ghost. In like manner the unburied Palinurus complains to Æneas*. In Plautus's

* The late Rev. Mr. Hole of Faringdon in Devonshire, whose loss is deplored by all who knew him, has left an essay on the character of Ulysses, which has been recently published by some kind and grateful friends. In this elegant morsel the learned author has noticed the anxiety which Homer's favourite heroes constantly manifest to give their enemies a prey to dogs, and thereby prevent the advantage of obtaining admission into the regions of happiness.

Mostellaria, the cunning servant endeavours to persuade his master that the house is haunted by the ghost of a man who had been murdered, and whose body remained without sepulture. The younger Pliny has a story of a haunted house at Athens, in which a ghost played many pranks on account of his funeral rites being neglected. Nor were ghosts supposed to be less turbulent, even after burial, whenever the party had died a premature death, as we learn from Tertullian in his treatise *De anima*, cap. 56, where he says, "Aiunt et immatura morte præventos eousque vagari isthic, donec reliquatio compleatur ætatis qua cum pervixissent si non intempestivé obiissent."

Sc. 5. p. 72.

HAM. Speak, I am bound to hear.

GHOST. So art thou to revenge when thou shalt hear.

These words have been turned into ridicule by Fletcher in his *Woman-hater*, Act ii.;

"LAZ. Speak, I am bound.

"COUNT. So art thou to revenge when thou shalt hear.
the fish-head is gone, and we know not
whither."

 Sc. 5. p. 72.

GHOST. And for the day, confin'd to *fast in fires*.
 'Till the foul crimes, &c.

A member of the church of Rome might be disposed to regard this expression as simply referring to a *mental* privation of all intercourse with the Deity. Such an idea would remove the inconsistency of ascribing corporeal sensations to the ghost, and might derive support from these lines in an ancient Christian hymn. See *Expositio hymnorum*, sec. usum Sarum.

" Sic corpus extra conteri,
 Dona per abstinentiam,
 Jejunet ut mens sobria
 A labe prorsus criminum."

The whole of the ghost's speech is remarkable for its terrific grandeur.

Sc. 5. p. 75.

GHOST. And *duller* should'st thou be than the fat weed
 That rots itself in ease on *Lethe's* wharf.

The plant here alluded to might have been *henbane*, of which Gerarde says that it causes drowsiness, and stupefies and *dulls* the senses.

Sc. 5. p. 76.

HAM. O, my prophetick soul ! my uncle !

Copied, perhaps maliciously, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Double marriage*, Act ii.

“SEN. Oh my prophétique soul!”

Sc. 5. p. 77.

GHOST. But soft, methinks I scent the morning air—
The glow-worm shows the matin to be near.

It was the popular belief that ghosts could not endure the light, and consequently disappeared at the dawn of day. This superstition is derived from our northern ancestors, who held that the sun and every thing containing *light or fire* had the property of expelling demons and spirits of all kinds. With them it seems to have originated in the stories that are related in the Edda concerning the battles of Thor against the giants and evil demons, wherein he made use of his dreadful mallet of iron, which he hurled against them as Jupiter did his thunderbolts against the Titans. Many of the *transparent* precious stones were supposed to have the power of expelling evil spirits ; and the flint and other stones found in

the tombs of the northern nations, and from which fire might be extracted, were imagined, in like manner, to be efficacious in confining the manes of the dead to their proper habitations. They were called Thor's hammers.

Sc. 5. p. 77.

GHOST. With juice of cursed *hebenon* in a vial,
And in the porches of mine ear did pour, &c.

Dr. Grey had ingeniously supposed this word to be a *metathesis* for *henebon* or *henbane*; but the best part of his note on the subject has been omitted, which is his reference to Pliny, who says that the oil of henbane *dropped into the ears* disturbs the brain. Yet it does not appear that henbane was ever called *henebon*. The line cited by Mr. Steevens from Marlow's *Jew of Malta*, shews that the *juice* of *hebon*, i. e. *ebony*, was accounted poisonous; and in the English edition by Batman, of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, so often cited in these observations as a Shakspearean book, the article for the wood ebony is entitled, "Of *Ebeno*, chap. 52." This comes so near to the text, that it is presumed very little doubt will now remain on the occasion. It

is not surprising that the *dropping into the ears* should occur, because Shakspeare was perfectly well acquainted with the supposed properties of henbane as recorded in Holland's translation of Pliny and elsewhere, and might apply this mode of use to any other poison.

Sc. 5. p. 77.

GHOST. ——— it doth posset
And curd, like *eager* droppings into milk.

Many readers may require to be told that *eager* means *sour*, from the French *aigre*. In the preceding scene it is used in the sense of *sharp*, and is there properly so explained; but the quotation of the present passage on that occasion seems misapplied.

Sc. 5. p. 79.

GHOST. ——— and sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head.

Heywood, a contemporary writer, has imitated this in his play of *A woman kill'd with kindness*;

“ ——— and send them, laden
With all their scarlet sins upon their backs
Unto a fearful judgment.”

Sc. 5. p. 81.

HAM. My tables,—meet it is, I set it down.

It is remarkable that neither public nor private museums should furnish any specimens of these table-books, which seem to have been very common in the time of Shakspeare; nor does any attempt appear to have been made towards ascertaining exactly the materials of which they were composed. Certain it is, however, that they were sometimes made of slate in the form of a small portable book with leaves and clasps. Such a one is fortunately engraved in Gesner's treatise *De rerum fossilium figuris, &c.* Tigur. 1565, 12mo, which is not to be found in the folio collection of his works on natural history. The learned author thus describes it: "Pugillaris è laminis saxi nigri fissilis, cum stylo ex eodem," His figure of it is here copied.



To such a table-book the Archbishop of York seems thus to allude in *The second part of King Henry IV.* Act iv. Sc. 1 :

“ And therefore will he *wipe his tables clean*
And keep no tell-tale to his memory—”

In the middle ages the leaves of these table-books were made of ivory. Montfaucon has engraved one of them in the third volume of his “*Antiquities*,” plate cxciv., the subject of which clearly shews that the learned writer has committed an error in ascribing them to remoter times. In Chaucer’s *Sompnour’s tale* one of the friars is provided with

“ A pair of tables all of *ivory*,
And a pointel ypolished fetishly,
And wrote alway the names, as he stood,
Of alle folk that yave hem any good.”

The Roman practice of writing on wax tablets with a stile was continued also during the middle ages. In several of the monastic libraries in France specimens of wooden tables filled with wax and constructed in the fourteenth century were preserved. Some of these contained the household expenses of the sovereigns, &c., and consisted of as many as twenty pages, formed into a book by means of parchment bands glued to the backs of the leaves.

One remaining in the Abbey of St. Germain des préz at Paris, recorded the expenses of Philip le Bel, during a journey that he made in the year 1307, on a visit to Pope Clement V. A single leaf of this table book is exhibited in the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 468.

Sc. 5. p. 85.

HAM. Swear by my sword.

In consequence of the practice of occasionally swearing by a sword, or rather by the cross or upper end of it, the name of *Jesus* was sometimes inscribed on the handle or some other part. Such an instance occurs on the monument of a crusader in the vestry of the church at Winchelsea. See likewise the tomb of John duke of Somerset engraved in Sandford's *Genealogical history*, p. 314, and Gough's *Sepulchral monuments*, Pref. ccxiii. Introd. cxlviii. vol. i. p. 171, vol. ii. p. 362.

ACT II.

Scene 2. Page 115.

POL. Though this be madness, yet there's method in it.

This is precisely Horace's,

"Insanire paret certo ratione modoque."

 Sc. 2. p. 121.

HAM. The clown shall make those laugh whose lungs are tickled o' the sere.

Sere is dry. Thus in *Macbeth*,

"He is deformed, crooked, old and *sere*."

Among the Saxons June was called the *sere* month. In the present instance *sere* appears to be used as a substantive. The same expression occurs in Howard's *Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophecies*, 1620, folio. "Discovering the moods and humors of the vulgar sort to be so loose and tickle of the seare," &c., fo. 31. Every one has felt that dry tickling in the throat and lungs which excites coughing. Hamlet's meaning may therefore be, *the clown by his merriment shall convert even their coughing into laughter*.

Sc. 2. p. 131.

HAM. Buz, buz.

Minsheu says, "To *buzze*, or hum as bees, *buzze, buzze*;" and again, in his Spanish dictionary, "when two standing or kneeling together, holding their hands upon their cheekes and ears, and so cry, *buzze buzze*, and hitting

one another a good box on the eare, if he pull not his head away quickly." Selden in his *Table talk*, speaking of witches, says, "If any should profess that by turning his hat thrice, and crying *buz*, he could take away a man's life, (though in truth he could do no such thing) yet this were a just law made by the state, that whosoever should turn his hat thrice, and cry *buz*, with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death." The expression has already exercised the skill of the critics, and may continue to do so, if they are disposed to pursue the game through the following mazes: "Anno DCCCXL Ludovicus imperator ad mortem infirmatur, cujus cibus per XL dies solummodo die dominica dominicum corpus fecit. Cum vidisset dæmonem stare, dixit *buez*, *buez*, quod significat *foras*, *foras*." Alberici monachi trium fontium *chronicon*, Leips. 1698. Ducange under the article *Buzi*, says, "Interpretatur despectus vel contemptus. Papias. [Ab Hebraico *Bus* vel *bouz*, sprexit.]"

Sc. 2. p. 135.

HAM. Your ladyship is nearer to heaven, than when I saw you last, by the altitude of a *chopine*.

In Raymond's *Voyage through Italy*, 1648,

12mo, a work which is said to have been partly written by Dr. Bargrave, prebendary of Canterbury, the following curious account of the *chopine* occurs. "This place [Venice] is much frequented by the walking may poles, I meane the women. They weare their coats halfe too long for their bodies, being mounted on their *chippeens*, (which are as high as a man's leg) they walke between two handmaids, majestickly deliberating of every step they take. This fashion was invented and appropriated to the noble Venetians wives, to bee constant to distinguish them from the courtesans, who goe covered in a vaile of white taffety."

James Howell, speaking of the Venetian women, says, "They are low and of small statures for the most part, which makes them to rayse their bodies upon high shoes called *chapins*, which gave one occasion to say that the Venetian ladies were made of three things, one part of them was wood, meaning their chapins, another part was their apparrell, and the third part was a woman; The Senat hath often endeavour'd to take away the wearing of those high shooes, but all women are so passionately delighted with this kind of state that no law can weepe them from it."

Some have supposed that the jealousy of Italian husbands gave rise to the invention of the *chopine*.

Limojon de Saint Didier, a lively French writer on the republic of Venice, mentions a conversation with some of the doge's counsellors of state on this subject, in which it was remarked that smaller shoes would certainly be found more convenient; which induced one of the counsellors to say, putting on at the same time a very austere look, *pur troppo commodi, pur troppo*. The first ladies who rejected the use of the chopine were the daughters of the Doge Dominico Contareno, about the year 1670. It was impossible to set one foot before the other without leaning on the shoulders of two waiting women, and those who used them must have stalked along like boys in stilts.

The choppine or some kind of high shoe was occasionally used in England. Bulwer in his *Artificial changeling*, p. 550, complains of this fashion as a monstrous affectation, and says that his countrywomen therein imitated the Venetian and Persian ladies. In Sandys's travels, 1615, there is a figure of a Turkish lady with chopines; and it is not improbable that the Venetians might have borrowed them from the *Greek* islands in the Archipelago. We know that something similar was in use among the ancient Greeks. Xenophon in his *œconomics*, introduces the wife

with a counterfait sigh) I would be glad to please your worship, but my *good* mony is abroad, and that I have, I dare not put in your hands. The gentleman thinking this conscience, where it is subtilty, and being beside that in some necessity, ventures on the *crackt angels*, some of which cannot flie, for soldering, and paies double interest to the miser under the cloake of honesty." Lodge's *Wit's miserie*, 1596, 4to, p. 28. So much for the cracked gold. The cracking of the *human voice* proceeded from some alteration in the larynx which is here compared to a ring.

As metaphors are sometimes double, the present may be of that kind. A piece of cracked metal is spoiled for the *ringing of it*; so the human voice, when cracked, may be said to lose the clearness of its *tone*. All Mr. Steevens's quotations, except the last, are obscene, and none of them apply to Hamlet's simile.

Sc. 2. p. 137.

HAM. 'twas *caviare* to the general.

This word has been frequently mispronounced *caveer* on the stage. The other mode of spelling it in Mr. Reed's note, viz. *caveary*, as well as the Italian term in the text, which should rather

be *caviaro*, would have been sufficient for the purpose of demonstrating how it should be accented; but the following line from Sir J. Harrington's 33d epigram of the third book leaves no uncertainty in the matter :

“ And cāvĕārĕ, but it little boots.”

Dr. Ramsey, physician to King Charles the Second, wrote a curious treatise on the worms of the human body, in which he says, “*Caviale* also is a fond dish of the Italians, made of the roes of sturghion, and altogether as unwholsome, if not much worse; invented by idle brains, and fansied by none but such as are ignorant what it is; wherefore I would have them consider the Italian proverb,

Chi mangia di *Caviale*,
Mangia moschi, merdi, & sale.

Which may be Englished thus,

He that eats Cavialies,
Eats salt, dung, and flies.

For it is only (as was said) the roes of sturghion powdred, pickled, and finely denominated *Caviale*, to be a bait for such woodcocks and dotrils that account every exotick fansie a real good.” This commodity is still common in the North of

Europe, and was formerly a considerable article of commerce between England and Russia.

Sc. 2. p. 145.

1. PLAY. Would have made *milch* the burning eyes of heaven.

i. e. would have drawn tears from them. *Milche-hearted*, in Hulæt's *Abcedarium*, 1552, is rendered *lemosus*; and in *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, 1545, we find "*lemosi*, they that *wepe* lyghtly." The word is from the Saxon *melce*, milky.

ACT III.

Scene 1. Page 158.

HAM. — To die, — to sleep,—
No more ;—

There is a good deal on this subject in Cardanus's *Comforte*, 1576, 4to, a book which Shakspeare had certainly read. In fo. 30, it is said, "In the holy scripture, death is not accounted other than sleape, and to dye is sayde to sleape,"

Sc. 1. p. 162.

HAM. The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
No traveller returns.

The resemblance of this passage to the lines cited by Mr. Steevens from Catullus is very remarkable, yet no translation of that author into English is known to have been made. It is true, they might have occurred to our poet in his native language through the medium of some quotation; yet it is equally possible that both the writers have casually adopted the same sentiment. This is a circumstance that more frequently happens than they are aware of who hunt after imitations even in writers of the most original genius. Many of Shakspeare's commentators might seem to be implicated in this charge, if it were not that they have rather designed to mark coincidence than imitation. On the present occasion our author alludes to a country altogether unknown to mortals. That of the Pagan poet is happily illustrated by Seneca, who cites the lines from Catullus, when he causes Mercury to drag the emperor Claudius into the *infernal regions*. "Nec mora, Cyllenius illum collo obtorto trahit ad inferos." *Lud. de morte Claudii*.

Dekker, in his *Seven deadlie sinns of London*, 1606, 4to, apostrophizing that city, exclaims,

“Art thou now not cruell against thyselfe, in not providing (before the land-waters of affliction come downe againe upon thee) more and more convenient cabins to lay those in, *that are to goe into such farre countries, who never looke to come back againe?* If thou should'st deny it, the graves when they open, will be witnesses against thee.”

In the *History of Valentine and Orson*, p. 63, edit. 1694, 4to, is this passage; “I shall send some of you here present *into such a country, that you shall scarcely ever return again* to bring tydings of your valour.” As Watson, the translator of this romance, translated also *The ship of fools* into prose, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, it is probable that there was an edition of *Valentine and Orson* in Shakspeare's time, though none such is supposed now to remain. Perhaps the oldest we know of is that of 1649, printed by Robert Ibbitson. In 1586, *The old book of Valentine and Orson* was licensed to T. Purfoot.

Sc. 1. p. 166.

HAM. I have heard of your *paintings* too, well enough;
 God hath given you one *face*, and you make
 yourselves another; you jig, you amble, and
 you lisp and nickname God's creatures, and
 make your wantonness your ignorance.

The folio reads *prattlings*, and *pace*; the quarto as in the text, which Dr. Johnson thinks best, though he admits that Shakspeare might have written both. Other very good reasons have been given for preferring the present reading; yet whoever will reflect on the typographical errors for which the quarto plays of Shakspeare are remarkable, may be disposed to think that the folio editors had good reason for their variation. Our author's bible might here, as in many other instances, have furnished his materials. "Moreover thus saith the Lorde: seyng the daughters of Sion are become so proude and come in with stretched oute neckes, and with vayne wanton eyes; seynge they come in trippynge so nicely with their fete; therefore, &c." Isaiah ch. iii. ver. 16. It has not been observed that *lisp* seems to refer to *prattling*, as *jig* and *amble* do to *pace*.

Sc. 2. p. 173.

HAM. — it out-herods Herod.

The violence of Herod in the old mysteries has been already exemplified by some extracts from the Chester and Coventry plays. One of the latter, of which some account has been given in the preceding pages, may truly be said on the

present occasion to completely *out-herod* the others. It exhibits the fury of the monarch to so much advantage, that every zealous amateur of theatrical manners must be gratified with the following extracts.

His majesty's entrance is announced by a herald in the vilest French jargon that can be conceived. He commences by injoining silence on the part of the spectators, and ends with sending them all to the devil. "*La gran deaboly vos umpport.*" He then makes a speech, which begins in bad Latin, and thus proceeds;

"[I am] the myghtyst conquerowre that ever walkid on grownd,
 For I am evyn he that made bothe hevin and hell,
 And of my myghte power holdith up the world rownd;
Mogog and *Mudroke* bothe thes did I confownde,
 And in this bryght bronde* there bonis I brak on sunder,
 That all the wyde worlde on those rappis† did wonder.
 I am the cawse of this grett lyght and thunder;
 Yt ys throgh my fure‡ that the§ soche noyse doth make;
 My feyrefull contenance the cloudis so doth incumber,
 That oftymes for drede therof the verre|| yerth doth quake.
 Loke when I with males¶ this bryght brond doth shake,
 All the whole world from the north to the sowthe,
 I ma them dystroie with won worde of my mouthe.

* sword.

† raps, blows.

‡ fury.

§ they.

|| very.

¶ malice.

To recownt unto you myn inewmerabull substance,
 Thatt were to moche for any tong to tell;
 For all the whole orient * ys under myn obbeydeance,
 And prince am I of purgatorie and chef capten of hell;
 And thase tyranees trayturs be force ma I compell
 Myne enemys to vanquese, and evyn to duste them dryve,
 And with a twynke of myn iee not won to be left alyve.
 Behald my contenance and my colour,
 Bryghter than the sun in the meddis of the dey.
 Where can you have a more grettur succur
 Then to behold my person that ys so gaye?
 My fawcun † and my fassion with my gorgis ‡ araye?
 He that had the grace allwey theron to thynke,
 Lyve the myght allwey without othur meyte or drynke;
 And thys my tryomfande fame most hylist doth abownde
 Throgh owt this world in all reygions abroad,
 Reysemelyng the favour of that most myght *Mahownd*.
 From *Jubyltor* be desent § and cosyn to the grett God,
 And namyd the most reydowndid || kyng *Eyrodde*,
 Wycche that all pryncis hath undr subjeccion,
 And all their whole powar undur my proteccion;
 And therefore my hareode ¶, here called *Calcas*,
 Warne thow eyvyry porte that noo schyppis aryve;
 Nor also aloond ** stranger throgh my réalme pas,
 But the for there truage do pay markis fyve.
 Now spede the forthe hastele,
 For the that wyll the contrare,
 Upon a galowse hangid schal be,
 And be *Mahownde* of me they gett noo grace."

* orient. † falcon, or perhaps falchion ‡ gorgeous.
 § I am descended. || renowned. ¶ herald. ** allow.

When he hears of the flight of the messengers,
he exclaims—

“ I stampe, I stare, I loke all about,
Myght I them take I schuld them bren at a glede*,
I ren, I rawe†, and now I am wode‡,
A that these velen trayturs hath mard this my mode
The schal be hangid yf I ma cum them to.”

The stage direction is, “ Here *Erode* ragis in
the pagond and in the strete also.” He consults
with his knights on putting the children to death ;
and on their dissuading him from it as likely to
excite an insurrection, he says—

“ A rysyng, owt, owt, owt.”

“ There *Erode* ragis ageyne and then seyth thus:”

“ Out velen wrychis har apon§ you I cry,
My wyll utturly loke that yt be wroght,
Or apon a gallowse bothe you schall dye
Be *Mahownde* most myghtyst that me dere hath boght.”

At length the knights consent to slay the chil-
dren, and *Herod* says ;

“ And then wyll I for fayne trypp lyke a doo.”

The bodies of the children are brought to him

* burn on live coals.

† rave.

‡ mad.

§ here upon, or perhaps *haro* !

in carts; but he is told that all his deeds are come to nothing, as the child whom he particularly sought after had escaped into Egypt. He once more falls into a violent passion, orders his palfrey to be saddled, and hurries away in pursuit of the infant. Here the piece ends. It was performed by the taylor and shearmen in the year 1534; but the composition is of much greater antiquity.

Sc. 2. p. 179.

HAM. ————— Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, ay in my heart of heart.

From this speech Anthony Scoloker, in his *Daiphantus, or The passions of love*, 1604, 4to, has stolen the following line,

“Oh, I would weare her in my heart's-heart-gore.”

Sc. 2. p. 179.

HAM. It is a *damned* ghost that we have seen.

i. e. the ghost of a person sentenced for his wickedness to damnation, and which has in this instance deceived us. Thus Spenser,

“What voice of *damned* ghost from Limbo lake
Or *guileful* *spright* wandring in empty ayre,
Sends to my *doubtful* *cares* these speeches rare?”

Fairy Queen, book i. canto 2, st. 32.

" He show'd him painted in a table plain
The *damned ghosts*——"

" Nor *damned ghosts* cald up with mightie spels."

Epithalamion, st. 19.

Sc. 2. p. 182.

HAM. Lady, shall I lie in your lap?

[*Lying down at OPHELIA's feet.*]

Mr. Steevens has noticed the practice of lying at the feet of a mistress during dramatic representations; yet we are not to conclude that it prevailed at the public theatres. The instances which have occurred seem to be confined to entertainments at the houses of the nobility and gentry. These were plays, masques, masquerades, balls, concerts, &c. Many old pictures and engravings furnish examples of the above custom, the young men being often seen sitting or lying on the ground in conversation with their mistresses, and sometimes in Hamlet's situation. One of these shall be described more particularly. It is an extremely neat little print, belonging to a set designed to contrast the sufferings of Christ with the vanities of the world. The scene is a ball-room. In the back-ground are the musicians and torch-bearers. In front a lady and gentleman are performing a dance before some standing spectators. In various parts of the room pairs of young

gallants and their mistresses are seated on the floor, apparently more attentive to their own concerns than to the dancing ; and one youth is sitting on the spread petticoat of his companion. The costume is French, and of the time of Louis the Thirteenth.

Sc. 2. p. 198.

HAM. With two *provincial roses* on my razed shoes.

The old copies read *provincial*, which led Mr. Warton to ask, why provincial roses? and to conclude that roses of *Provence* were meant, on which conclusion the text has been *most unnecessarily* changed ; because the old reading was certainly correct. There is no evidence to show that *Provence* was ever remarkable for its roses ; but it is well known that *Provins*, in *La Basse Brie*, about forty miles from Paris, was formerly very celebrated for the growth of this flower, of which the best cataplasms are said to have been made. It was, according to tradition, imported into that country from Syria, by a count De Brie. See Guillemeau *Histoire naturelle de la rose*. It is probable that this kind of rose, which in our old herbals is called the Great Holland or *Province* rose, was imported into this

country both from Holland and France, from which latter country the Dutch might have first procured it. There is an elegant cut of the Provins rose, with a good account of it, in the first edition of Pomet *Hist. des drogues*, 1694, folio, p. 174.

Sc. 2, p. 200.

HAM. A very, very, —*peacock*.

The word that was in the original of Hamlet's quotation would have been too coarse to be applied to royalty; and therefore he substitutes another, which there is good reason to suppose was *peacock*. Dr. Farmer has given proof that this term was proverbial for a fool. Reginald Scot, speaking of Pope Julius the Third, says that he blasphemed Christ, and cursed his mother for a *peacock*. *Disc. of witchcraft*, b. 2, ch. viii. The bird in question is at once *proud* and *silly*.

Sc. 2. p. 205.

Enter the players with *recorders*.

"i. e." says Mr. Steevens, "a kind of *large flute*." Yet the former note, to which he refers,

vol. v. p. 149, describes this instrument as a *small flute*. Sir J. Hawkins, in vol. iv. p. 479, of his valuable History of musick, has offered very good proofs that the recorder was a *flagelet*, and he maintains that the flute was improperly termed a recorder, and that the expressions have been confounded: yet his opinion that the books of instructions entitled 'for the recorder' belong in reality to the flute, seems rather doubtful. The confusion is in having blended the genus with the species. In the *Promptuarium parvulorum*, 1516, 4to, a recorder is defined to be a "lytell pype." In *Udall's flowres for Latine spekyng selected oute of Terence*, 1532, 12mo, the line from Virgil's *Bucolics*,

"Nec te pœniteat calamo trivisse labellum,"

is rendered, "and thynke it not a smalle thyng to have lerned to playe on the *pype* or the *recorder*:" and it is not a little curious that in modern cant language the recorders of corporations are termed *flutes*. The following story in *Wits fits and fancies*, 1595, 4to, shows that the pipe and recorder were different; such is the uncertainty of definition among old writers: "A merrie recorder of London mistaking the name of one *Pepper*, call'd him *Piper*: whereunto the partie excepting, and

saying : Sir, you mistake, my name is *Pepper*, not *Piper* : hee answered : Why, what difference is there (I pray thee) between *Piper* in Latin, and *Pepper* in English ; is it not all one ? No, sir (reply'd the other) there is even as much difference betweene them, as is between a *Pipe* and a *Recorder*."

Sc. 2. p. 207.

HAM. Do you think I am easier to be play'd on than a pipe ?
Call me what instrument you will, though you can *fret* me, you cannot play upon me.

A *fret* is the stop or key of a musical instrument, and consequently here is a play on words, and a double meaning. Hamlet says, *though you can vex me, you cannot impose on me ; though you can stop the instrument, you cannot play on it.*

Sc. 3. p. 216.

HAM. — that his soul may be as damn'd and black
As hell, whereto it goes.

To the stories collected in the notes that illustrate Hamlet's shocking design of killing the king at his prayers, may be added one in Howel's *Parley of the beasts*, p. 91, and another related in Chetwind's *Historical collections*, p. 77.

Sc. 4. p. 231.

HAM. — a *vice* of kings.

“A low mimick of kings. The *vice* is the fool of a *farce*; from whence the modern *punch* is descended.” Thus far Dr. Johnson. The first position in his note is questionable, the others erroneous. The *vice* belonged to the old moralities; and the modern *Punch* is most certainly not descended from him, but legitimately from a character well known in the theatres of ancient Rome. *We* have borrowed him from the Italian *Polichinello*. With respect to the former part of the note, Hamlet’s expression may be quite literal. Thus in *King Henry the Fifth*, we have “this *grace* of kings.” Afterwards indeed, Shakspeare, in his usual manner, recollecting the ambiguity of the term, takes up another simile, and makes Hamlet call his uncle a *king of shreds and patches*. See a former note in vol. i. p. 467.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 248.

HAM. The body is with the king, but the king is not with the body.

Hamlet’s riddle seems still unresolved. Can

What be its meaning ? Instead of giving a direct answer to the inquiry after the body of Polonius, he seizes the opportunity of venting his sarcasm against the king, by saying that the body, *i. e.* the external appearance or person of the monarch, is with his uncle ; but that the real and lawful king is not in that body.

Sc. 5. p. 262.

OPH. To be your *Valentine*.

The custom of choosing *Valentines* is of very long standing, and, like many others of a popular nature, is no more than a corruption of something similar that had prevailed in the times of paganism. It was the practice in ancient Rome, during a great part of the month of February, to celebrate the *Lupercalia*, which were feasts in honour of Pan and Juno, whence the latter deity was named *februata*, *februalis*, and *februlla*. On this occasion, amidst a variety of ceremonies, the names of young women were put into a box, from which they were drawn by the men as chance directed. The pastors of the early Christian church, who by every possible means endeavoured to eradicate the vestiges of Pagan superstitions, and chiefly by some commutation of

their forms, substituted, in the present instance, the names of particular saints instead of those of the women : and as the festival of the *Lupercalia* had commenced about the middle of February, they appear to have chosen Saint Valentine's day for celebrating the new feast ; because it occurred nearly at the same time. This is, in part, the opinion of a learned and rational compiler of the lives of the saints, the Reverend Alban Butler. It should seem, however, that it was utterly impossible to extirpate altogether any ceremony to which the common people had been much accustomed ; a fact which it were easy to prove in tracing the origin of various other popular superstitions : and accordingly the outline of the ancient ceremonies was preserved, but modified by some adaptation to the Christian system. It is reasonable to suppose that the above practice of choosing mates would gradually become reciprocal in the sexes ; and that all persons so chosen would be called *Valentines*, from the day on which the ceremony took place. There is another opinion on the origin of choosing *Valentines*, which has been formed on a tradition among the common people, that at the above season of the year birds choose their mates, a circumstance that is frequently alluded to by poets, and particularly

by Chaucer ; yet this seems to be a mere poetical idea, borrowed in all probability from the practice in question. Again, it has been supposed that the custom originated in the following manner. During carnival time, which usually happens about Saint Valentine's day, great numbers of knights assembled together in the various courts of Europe to entertain the ladies with feasts and tournaments, when each lady made choice of a knight who usually enlisted in her service for a whole year, during which period he bound himself to perform, at the instance of his mistress, whatever was consistent with propriety. One employment was the writing verses full of tenderness ; not that it was requisite for the heart to be at all concerned in the matter. A little reflection, however, may serve to show that even this practice is only derivative from the older one.

It is presumed that the earliest specimens remaining of poetical *Valentines* are those preserved in the works of Charles duke of Orleans, a prince of high accomplishments, and the father of Louis the Twelfth of France. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and remained a captive in this country twenty-five years, during which time he wrote several thousand lines of

poetry, a few of them in English. Many of these poems are written on Saint *Valentine's* day, and in some of them his mistress is called his *Valentine*. In the Royal library of manuscripts, now in the British museum, there is a magnificent volume containing probably all that the duke wrote whilst in England. It belonged to king Henry the Seventh, for whom it has been copied from some older manuscript, and is beautifully illuminated. In one of the paintings the duke is represented in the White tower sitting at a writing-table, with guards attending him. In another part of it he is looking out of a window ; and in a third he is going out of the tower to meet some person who has just alighted from his horse. At a distance is London bridge with the houses on it, and the curious chapel, all very distinct, and probably faithful copies. Besides the above work, this fine manuscript contains some compositions by the celebrated Eloisa, and other matters of less consequence.

In one of the duke's poems, he feigns that on Saint Valentine's day *Youth* appears to him with an invitation to the temple of love. On the same day he devotes himself to the service of several ladies, according to what he states to have been

the custom in England. The following extracts from some of his poems are given, as containing allusions to the subject immediately before us.

“ A ce jour de Saint *Valentin*
 Que chascun doit choisir son per,
 Amours demourrai-je non per
 Sans partir à vostre butin?
 A mon reveillier au matin
 Je n'y ay cessé de penser
 A ce jour de saint *Valentin*.”

It appears from the following songs, that when Ash Wednesday happened to fall on Saint Valentine's day, the knights and their ladies assembled only in the afternoon, the morning being necessarily devoted to pious purposes.

“ Saint *Valentin* quant vous venez
 En caresme au commencement,
 Receu ne serez vrayement
 Ainsi que accoustumè avez
 Saint *Valentin* dit, veez me ça,
 Et apporte pers a choisir :
 Viegne qui y devra venir,
 C'est la coustume de pieça.
 Quand le jour des cendres, hola,
 Respond, auquel doit-on faillir?
 Saint *Valentin* dit, veez me ça,
 Et apporte pers à choisir.

Au fort au matin convendra
En devotion se tenir,
Et après disner à loisir,
Choysisse qui choisir voudra ;
Saint *Valentin* dit, veez me ça,
Et apporte pers à choysir."

Another French *Valentine*, composed by John Gower, is quoted by Mr. Warton in his *History of English poetry*, add. to vol. ii. p. 31, from a manuscript in the library of Lord Gower. In this the poet tells his mistress that in choosing her he had followed the example of the birds.

Madame Royale, the daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, built a palace near Turin which was called *the Valentine*, on account of the great veneration in which the saint was held in that country. At the first entertainment given there by the princess, who was naturally of a gallant disposition, she directed that the ladies should choose their lovers *for the year* by lots. The only difference with respect to herself was, that she should be at liberty to fix on her own partner. At every ball during the year each lady received from her gallant a nosegay ; and at every tournament the lady furnished his horse's trappings, the prize obtained being hers. From this circumstance Monsieur Menage, to whom we are

indebted for the above information, infers that in Piedmont, the parties were called *Valentines*; but the learned writer was not aware of the circumstances already stated, nor of the antiquity of the custom in his own country. See Menage *Dict. étymologique*, art. *Valentin*.

In an old English ballad the lasses are directed to pray *cross-legged* to Saint *Valentine*, for good luck. For the modern ceremonies on choosing *Valentines*, the reader may consult Brand's *Popular antiquities*, and No. 56 of *The connoisseur*.

Sc. 5. p. 268.

OPH. Let in the maid, that out a maid,
Never departed more.

In an Album that belonged in 1598 to a Dutch lady named Theodora Van Wassenaer, there is the following pretty French ballad addressed to her. The conclusion resembles the above lines in Ophelia's song.

" Au jardin de mon pere
Un oranger il y a,
Qui est si chargé d'oranges
Je croy qu'il en rompra.
Mignone tant je vous ayme,
Mais vous ne m'aymez pas.

Elle demanda à son pere
Quand on le cueillera,
Ma fille, ma fille,
Quand la saison viendra.
Mignone, &c.

La saison est venue
Le cueillerons nous pas ?
Elle prend une echelle,
Un panier à son bras.
Mignone, &c.

Elle cueillit les plus meures,
Les verds elle y laissa ;
Elle les alloit porter vendre
Au marcher de Damas.
Mignone, &c.

En son chemin rencontroit
Le fils d'un avocat ;
Que portez vous la belle
Dans ce panier couvert ?
Mignone, &c.

Monsieur ce sont des orenges
Ne vous en plait-il pas ?
Il en prend une couple,
Dans son sein il les metta.
Mignone, &c.

Venez vous en la belle,
On vous les payera ;
Elle y entra pucelle
Grossette elle en sortit.

Mignone tant je vous ayme,
Mais vous ne m'aymez pas."

 Sc. 5. p. 263.

ORH. By *Gis*, and by Saint Charity.

The frequent occurrence of this adjuration sufficiently proves that Dr. Johnson's proposed change to *Cis*, is unnecessary; nor indeed would the name of Saint Cecilia be proper to swear by. Mr. Ritson's *Gislen*, an obscure *Irish* saint, is equally out of the question. In the interlude of *Mary Magdelain*, she is made to say,

"Nay by *Gis*, twentie shillings I dare holde
That there is not a gentlewoman in this land
More propre than I in the waste, I dare be bolde."

In *Promos and Cassandra*, Dalia swears by *Gys*; and in *Gammer Gurton's needle* and some other old plays, the same expression occurs. Mr. Ridley's conjecture, that *Jesus* is the corrupted word is the true one; but the corruption is not in the way that he has stated. The letters *IHS* would not be pronounced *Gis*, even by those who understood them as a Greek contraction.

 ACT V.

Scene 1. Page 297.

2 CLO. — therefore make her grave *straight*.

Dr. Johnson thought this meant "from East

to West, in a direct line parallel to the church ; not from North to South, athwart the regular line." The frequency of the above mode of expression in Shakspeare's plays sufficiently indicates that if he had alluded to the mode of burial contended for by Dr. Johnson, he would have adopted some other. It has occurred upwards of a hundred times already in the sense of *immediately*. Nor would it be easy to show that to make a grave *straight*, or in a direct line, was to make it East and West ; or that it was the designation of Christian burial. The first clown rather adverts to the *place* where the grave should be made than to its *form*. Suicides were buried on the North side of the church, in ground purposely *unconsecrated*.

Much of this scene has been imitated in the *Valiant Welshman*, by R. A. [q. Robert Armin] 1663. See Act iv.

Sc. 1. p. 299.

2 CLO. If this had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been bury'd out of Christian burial. ◀

We have here a manifest satire on the partial ver-

dicts of coroners' juries, where the suicide has been above the common condition of life. Judge Blackstone has hinted at them in his *Commentaries*. Nothing, however, but the partiality is reprehensible; the rest is an amiable tenderness towards the living, calculated to resist a law that justly deserves to be abhorred for a savage and impotent revenge so far as it regards the dead.

Sc. 1. p. 299.

1 CLO. Come; my *spade*. There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditchers and grave-makers; they hold up *Adam's* profession.

2 CLO. Was he a *gentleman*?

1 CLO. He was the first that ever bore arms.

This is undoubtedly in ridicule of heraldry. Gerard Leigh, one of the oldest writers on that subject, speaks of "Jesus Christ, a *gentleman* of great lineage, and king of the Jewes." And again, "For that it might be known that even anon after the creation of Adam, there was both *gentlenes*, and *ungentlenes*, you shall understand that the second man that was born was a *gentleman*, whose name was Abell. I say a gentleman both of vertue and of lignage, with whose sacrifice God was much pleased. His brother Cain was im-

gentle, for he offered God the worst of his *fruites*," &c. *Accedence of armorie*, 1591, 4to, fo. 13. Another morsel of satire against the above science lurks in the very ancient proverbial saying:

"When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?"

which is found in almost every European language. It was the text on which the rebel priest John Balle preached his sermon during the insurrection of Wat Tyler. Although the first clown afterwards explains why Adam bore arms, by means of a punning allusion to his digging with arms, there is still a concealed piece of wit with respect to the *spade*. Adam's spade is set down in some of the books of heraldry as *the most ancient form of escutcheons*: nor is it improbable that the lower part of this utensil suggested the well known form of the old triangular shields; whilst from the spindle of Eve might have originated the lozenge-like escutcheon on which the arms of females are usually emblazoned.

Sc. 1. p. 308.

HAM. — the age is grown so *picked*, that the toe of the peasant, &c.

Mr. Malone's note, in exclusion of the others,

is sufficiently satisfactory. The fashion of wearing pointed shoes, to which Hamlet had been supposed to allude, had ceased long before the time of Shakspeare ; nor is it probable that he would have transferred it to the age of Hamlet. We still say *a person treads close on the heels of another*, in the same signification as in the text.

Sc. 1. p. 310.

1 CLO. This same scull, sir, was *Yorick's* scull, the king's jester.

The frequency of such names as *Eric* and *Roric* in the Danish history, might have suggested that of the jester in question, but in a manner that may not very easily be discovered. *Roric* was the name of the king of Denmark contemporary with Hamlet, according to Saxo Grammaticus.

Sc. 1. p. 311.

HAM. Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come ; make her laugh at that.—

There is good reason for supposing that Shakspeare borrowed this thought from some print or picture that he had seen. There are several

which represent a lady at her toilet, and an old man presenting a scull before the mirrour. A print by Goltzius exhibits *Vanity* as a lady sitting in her chamber with jewels, &c. before her, and surprised by the appearance of Death. In one of Henry the Eighth's wardrobe accounts, a picture at Westminster is thus described : " Item a table with the picture of a woman playing upon a lute, and an olde manne holding a glasse in th'one hande and a deadde mannes headde in th'other hande." Harl. MS. No. 1419.

IN a poem written by Anthony Scoloker, a printer, entitled *Daiphantus, or The passions of love, comicall to reade, but tragicall to act, as full of wit, as experience*, 1604, '4to, and recently quoted in p. 245, there are the following allusions to the play of *Hamlet*. In a quaint dedication he says ; " It [the epistle] should be like the *never-too-well read Arcadia*, where the *prose and verse (matter and words)* are like his *mistresses eyes*, one still excelling another and without *Corivall* : or to come home to the *vulgars element*, like *friendly Shake-speare's tragedies*, where the *commedian rides*, when the *tragedian stands on tiptoe* : *Faith it should please all, like*

prince Hamlet. But in sadnesse, then it were to be feared *he would runne mad.* In sooth I will not be moonesicke, to please : nor out of my wits though I displeased all."

" His breath he thinkes the smoke ; his tongue a cole,
Then calls for bottell ale ; to quench his thirst.
Runs to his Inke pot, drinkes, then stops the hole,
And thus growes madder, then he was at first.
Tasso he finds, by that of *Hamlet*, thinkes,
Tearmes him a *mad-man*; than of his Inkhorne drinks.

" *Calls players fooles*, the foole he judgeth wisest,
Will learne them action, out of Chaucers Pander :
Proves of their poets bawdes even in the highest,
Then drinkes a health ; and sweares it is no slander,
Puts off his cloathes ; his shirt he onely weares,
Much like *mad-Hamlet*; thus as passion teares."



OTHELLO.

ACT I.

Scene 3. Page 422.

OTR. Wherein of antres vast and deserts *idle*.

DR. JOHNSON has very properly taken notice of Mr. Pope's *inadvertency* in substituting *wild* for *idle*; but whether he is strictly right in regarding this word as "poetically beautiful," according to Shakspeare's use of it, may admit of some doubt. Perhaps in a modern writer it would be poetical, where designed to express *infertility*. It may be worth while to examine how it was originally used.

In Ælfric's version of Genesis, ch. i. ver. 1, the *inanis et vacua* of the Vulgate is rendered *ȝdel ȝ æmtiȝ*. Now it is conceived that *inanis* never signified *infertile*, but *useless*, *unprofitable*; and such appears to be the meaning of *idle*. In two or three of the early Latin and English dictionaries, *inanis* is rendered *idle*; and in this sense

the latter word is used by Shakspeare in *Richard the third*, Act iii. :

“ You said that *idle weeds* were fast in growth.”

It is clear that in the last instance *infertility* is out of the question ; but *useless* and *unprofitable* well denote the poet’s meaning, or rather that of the inventor of the proverb, which was afterwards corrupted into “ *ill weeds*,” &c.

It is conceived therefore that Dr. Johnson is not accurate in his opinion, that *idle* in the before-cited Saxon translation is an epithet expressive of the *infertility* of the chaotic state. Wicliffe has not adopted this term ; he has preferred *vain* : but in the first page of the English *Golden legend*, which contains a part of the first chapter of Genesis, we have—“ the erth was *ydle* and voyde.” Here Caxton the translator must have followed the *Vulgate*, corroborating what is already stated on the construction of *idle*. The learned reader will not want to be informed why this term could not occur in any of the subsequent English versions of the Bible.

Sc. 3. p. 447.

IAGO. — the food that to him now is as luscious as locusts,
shall be to him shortly as bitter as coloquintida.

There is another phrase of this kind, viz. to

exchange Herb John for coloquintida. It is used in Osborne's *Memoirs of James I.*, and elsewhere. The pedantic Tomlinson, in his translation of Renodæus's *Dispensatory*, says, that many superstitious persons call mugwort Saint John's herb, "wherewith he circumcined his loyps on holidays," p. 317. Shakspeare, who was extremely well acquainted with popular superstitions, might have recollected this circumstance, when, for reasons best known to himself, he chose to vary the phrase by substituting the *luscious locusts* of the Baptist. Whether these were the fruit of the tree so called, or the well known insect, is not likely to be determined.

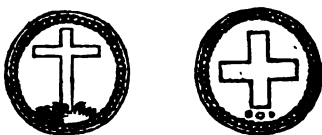
ACT III.

Scene 4. Page 556.

Des. ——— I had rather have lost my purse
Full of *cruzadoes*.

The following account of this Portuguese coin is presumed to be more correct than that already given. The *cruzado* was not current, as it should seem, at Venice, though it certainly was in England in the time of Shakspeare, who has here

indulged his usual practice of departing from national costume. It was of gold, and weighed two penny-weights six grains, or nine shillings English. The following varieties of it as to type, are given from an English almanac of the year 1586, whence also the weight has been taken. The sovereigns who struck this coin were Emanuel and his son John.



Sc. 4. p. 558.

OTH. — The hearts, of old, gave hands;
But our new heraldry is—hands, not hearts.

There cannot be a doubt that the text is right, and that there is a punning allusion to the *new heraldry of hands* in the baronets arms. The plain meaning is—*formerly the heart gave away the hand in marriage; but now, as in the new heraldry, we have hands only: no cordiality nor affection.* In *The tempest*, Ferdinand says to Miranda, "Here's my hand;" to which she answers, "And mine *with my heart in it.*" In this latter instance, Shakspeare, not Miranda,

might recollect the gemmel rings, some of which had engraven on them, a hand with a heart in it.

ACT IV.

Scene 2. Page 601.

ORN. The bawdy wind, that kisses all it meets.

The same image occurs more delicately, but less strongly, in a beautiful "Song to a forsaken mistress," written by an anonymous author, about the time of Charles the First, and published in Playford's *Select ayres*, 1659, folio. As most persons of taste already possess the whole of it in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of the early English poets*, it is unnecessary to give more in this place than the stanza in which the above image occurs :

"I do confess thou'rt sweet, yet find
Thee such an unthrift of thy sweets;
Thy favours are but *like the wind*,
Which kisseth every thing it meets :
And since thou can'st with more than one,
Th'art worthy to be kiss'd by none."

Sc. 2. p. 635.

ORN. Had all his hairs been lives, my great revenge
Had stomach for them all.

The same sentiment occurs in the third part of *King Henry the Sixth*, where Clifford says,

“ Had I thy brethren here, their lives, and thine,
Were not revenge sufficient for me.”

Sc. 2. p. 653.

OTH. *Blow me about in winds ! roast me in sulphur !*

Again, in *Measure for measure*,

“ To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world.”

THE CLOWN.

HE appears but twice in the play, and was certainly intended to be an allowed or domestic *fool* in the service of Othello and Desdemona.



ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c.

VOL. I.

Page 59.

THE tune of the old ballad of *Green sleeves*, may be seen in Sir John Hawkins's *Hist. of music*, vol. v. Append. and is still used in *The beggar's opera*, in the song of "Since laws were made for every degree."

p. 84. Cupid's *golden shaft* is again mentioned in the *Midsummer night's dream*, Act i. Sc. 1.

"HERM. By his *best arrow* with the *golden head*."

p. 156. To the list of imitations &c. of the story of *Measure for measure*, add the novel of *Waldburgh and Belanca*, in Reynolds's *God's revenge against adultery*. This is the substance of it. In the reign of Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, Möruffi, a Danish general, in attacking the castle of Colmar, was taken prisoner by the governor count Waldbourg. Belanca,

274 ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c.

the wife of Moruffi, obtained a promise from the count to liberate her husband on the terms of her submitting to his unlawful desires. The unfortunate woman was afterwards inhumanly presented with the head of her husband. When Gustavus heard of the fact, he compelled the count to marry the injured lady, and then condemned him to death. Reynolds pretended that all his stories in this and his other once celebrated work, *God's revenge against murder*, were originals, and that he had collected the materials for them in the course of his travels.

p. 193. The recipe here given for making men seem like horses or asses, from Scot's *Discoverie of witchcraft*, where Shakspeare might have seen it, is the real property of Baptista Porta, in the serious refutation of whom the Jesuit Kircher has wasted too much time. See his treatise *De luce et umbra*.

In the *Prodromo apologetico alli studi Chircheriani* of Petrucci, there are similar receipts, and especially one in which an oil is directed to be made from the semen of a horse, which being used in a lamp, the company present will appear to have horses' heads. It is accompanied with a curious engraving of a Houyhnhnm party engaged in conversation, among whom there is the figure

ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c. 275

of an *equus togatus*, that will not fail to make a due impression on such readers as are acquainted with the trick put by Mr. Spence, the author of *Polymetis*, on Dr. Cooke the provost of King's College Cambridge, a sour pedant who had offended him. See the tail-piece to the 17th dialogue in the *first* edition of the above work.

p. 199. The blessing of the bridal bed had doubtless, during the dark ages that preceded the promulgation of the gospel in many parts of Europe, been deemed the immediate office of fairies and other supernatural beings. The object of it was to make the issue of the marriage happy, and to avert deformity. In this, as in numerous other instances, the priests felt themselves obliged, in their attempt to do away a Pagan superstition, which, as we see, continued notwithstanding to maintain its influence, to substitute some congenial ceremony that should console the deluded people; but their particular enmity to fairies on the present occasion seems manifest in the passage cited from the Salisbury manual, in the words "ab omnibus fantasmaticis demonum illusionibus;" unless they should be thought rather to allude to the subject which is particularly noticed in the subsequent remarks on the night-spells.

276 ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c.

The above ceremony is thus mentioned by Chaucer in his description of the marriage of January and May ;

“ The bride is brought a-bed as stil as ston ;
And whan the bed was with the preest yblessed,
Out of the chambre hath every wight him dressed.”

Marchantes tale, v. 9692.

On the evidence relating to the consummation of the marriage between prince Arthur and the lady Catharine, Robert Viscount Fitzwater deposed that “ the prince was then about fifteen, and queen Katherine elder, and that the next day after being in bed together (*which he remembered after they entered to have been solemnly bless'd*), he waited at breakfast on prince Arthur, &c.” Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry the Eighth*, p. 243. It is said that some vestiges of this custom still remain among the Presbyterians in Scotland.

p. 276. There is a story of *two caskets*, &c., in Morlini *novellæ*, nov. 5.

Quære if the general construction of all these stories have not been borrowed from the trick related to have been put by Prometheus on Jupiter with the two bull skins filled with flesh and bones ?

p. 290, (note). Dr. Taylor, in his treatise *De inope debitore in partes dissecando*, has offered

ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c. 277

some strong arguments against the supposed mutilation of the debtor's body, and endeavoured to show that the law in question demanded nothing more than that the produce of his servitude should be divided among the creditors. Yet Aulus Gellius was of a different opinion. At a very early period, among the Jews, the creditor had a right to make a slave of the debtor. See 2 Kings, chap. iv. ver. 1.

p. 301. To the explanation of *sans*, add that in the early editions of the dictionaries of Coles and Littelton the word is printed *sance*.

p. 348. Morgan the herald must be acquitted of having conveyed to us the *original* information that "Jesus Christ was a gentleman and bore arms." He was indebted for it to Dame Julian Berners, who, in her treatise on coat armour, speaks of "the gentyl Jesus," and states that "Cryst [was] a gentylman of his mother's behalf and bare cote armure." She also tells us, that "Cain became a churl from the curse of God, and Seth a *gentleman* through his father and mother's blessing." So that we find J. C. was not the *first* gentleman.

VOL. II.

Page 9.

IN further confirmation of the opinion here expressed, the curious reader is referred to Wilson de Colombiere's *Vray theatre d'honneur*, vol. ii. p. 313, for the account of a duel on appeal for murder which was fought at Valenciennes in the year 1454, where the dead body of the vanquished party was adjudged to be hanged on a gallows as a convicted murderer.

The frequent use which has been made in the course of these remarks of a work cited under the title of Bartholomæus *de proprietatibus rerum*, may require that a more particular description of it should be given. It is a general history of nature, composed in Latin by Bartholomew Glanville, an English Minorite or Franciscan, of the family of the earls of Suffolk. He flourished about the year 1360, and appears to have been the Pliny of his time. It was several times printed abroad in the infancy of the typographic art, and translated into the English, French, Dutch, and

ADDITIONS TO THE NOTES, &c. 279

Spanish languages. The English version was made by John Trevisa, a Cornish man, and vicar of Barkley in Gloucestershire, at the request of his patron Thomas Lord Barkley, in the year 1398, and originally printed by Wynkyn de Worde; for there is no evidence that it came from Caxton's press in English, though it has been so asserted. Neither is the date of Wynkyn de Worde's edition, if it ever had any, been ascertained. The next edition was printed in 1535, by Thomas Berthelette, in folio. The last was published under the title of *Batman uppon Bartholome*, his *Booke de proprietatibus rerum*, &c. Printed by Thomas East, 1582, in folio. Stephen Batman appears to have been a worthy and pious character, and was chaplain to lord Hunsdon. His additions were compiled from Gesner and other writers of his own time. In a manuscript diary of expenses in the reign of Elizabeth, the price of this book is stated to have been eight shillings.





ON
THE ANACHRONISMS
AND
SOME OTHER INCONGRUITIES
OF
SHAKSPEARE.

THE transgressions against the rules of chronology committed by those who, in recording the events of preceding ages, introduce matters which have originated in subsequent periods, seem almost exclusively to belong to authors whose works, in point of date, are to be separated from those admirable compositions which are usually styled the Classics. In the latter such instances seldom, if ever, occur; whilst in the writers as well as the artists of the middle ages they are innumerable. Nor do these absurdities diminish as we approach periods more enlightened as to general science. From the time of Chaucer to that of Shakspeare, there is scarcely an author to be found who is not implicated in this accusation; and about the age of Elizabeth, the dramatists

282 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

in particular seem to have been remarkably inattentive to the unities of time and place. It has been observed that Ben Jonson is almost the only writer against whom the charge of uniting dissimilar manners and discordant periods is not to be laid; and though the poets of the ensuing century are not wholly free from the imputation in question, it is certain that from about the reign of king James the First more care was taken to preserve a due attention to the manners and customs of particular ages, or at least to avoid any very palpable anachronisms, than had already been done. But whilst the compositions of dramatic writers remained pretty free from these blemishes, the directors of the theatres continued to practise their, perhaps innocent, impostures on the public; and every absurdity that could be devised, or distortion of reality in costume, still continued to disgrace the stage. We were not indeed more absurd in this respect than other European nations, nor was it until a short time before the late revolution that the French theatre had reformed itself in this respect. Many persons now recollect the state of the English stage in Garrick's time, when that excellent performer used to exhibit his Hamlet in a common French suit of black velvet and a cocked hat, and his

Macbeth in a scarlet coat with broad gold lace like the uniform of a modern general. Quin is said to have played Othello in a flowing powdered periwig. How Shakspeare's characters were habited on the stage in his time would be difficult or even impossible to ascertain with accuracy at present, except in a few instances ; but we have no reason to suppose that much propriety was manifested on the occasion. Unluckily for us it was not then the practice to decorate the printed plays with frontispieces ; and the theatrical prints and pictures even of succeeding times are not very commonly to be met with. It is on this account that the cuts to Mr. Rowe's edition of Shakspeare, and those to the first octavo edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, are at present extremely valuable, as they serve to record many pleasant absurdities that will not fail to excite a smile in the beholder.

It was reserved for the great actor who to the scenic talents of a Garrick unites that managerial skill and judgment in the costume of nations which the other wanted, to reform these follies ; and, by exhibiting to us times as they were, to render the stage what it should be, a true and perfect mirror of history and manners.

The above very slight notice of the subject be-

284 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

fore us may perhaps be sufficient for the purpose of introducing the mention of those anachronisms that are ascribable to Shakspeare: and this has not been done with any view to exhibit him as more culpable in this respect than most of his contemporaries, but solely for the purpose of collecting them together as an object of amusement; nothing however could have been less judicious than the conduct of Mr. Pope when he placed them to the account of the publishers. Nor is the catalogue offered as a complete one; the diligent and critical reader will discover some that are here unnoticed.

But the negligence of writers in the due observance of costume is but trifling, when compared with what is to be laid to the charge of painters and other artists. Volumes have been professedly filled, and the number might still be augmented, with the errors of even the best of the old painters. Nor are the modern by any means to be acquitted on this score. We too frequently see works of the greatest intrinsic worth, both in composition and execution, depreciated by the most absurd violations of historical accuracy and a want of adherence to the manners of the times they refer to. In this case they are not what they profess to be; and whilst

they delight the eye, they delude the understanding. It is extremely pleasing to observe the zeal which manifests itself among the leading artists of the present day to obtain correct notions of the manners of former times whenever they have occasion to depict them. The works of many of our best painters will not only excite the admiration but the gratitude of posterity for the faithful delineation of their subjects, and the labours of future antiquaries will be reduced in proportion as pictures of this kind shall increase*.

To return to Shakspeare.—In the *dramatis personæ* of many of his plays we find a medley of ancient and modern names that is often extremely ridiculous. At Ephesus we meet with *Pinch*, a schoolmaster; at Mitylene with *Boult*, a clown; and at Athens with *Snug*, *Bottom*, *Snout*, *Quince*, &c. In his later stories English names are given to foreigners. Thus at Vienna we have *Froth* and *Elbow*; in Navarre,

* Mr. Stothard, the most unassuming of men, but with every claim to superior talent, has recently finished a painting of the procession of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims, which may be classed among the choicest morsels of its kind. The attention to accuracy of costume which it displays has never been exceeded, and but very seldom so well directed.

286 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

Duell, Costard, and Moth; and in *Illyria, Sir Toby Belch* and *Sir Andrew Aguecheek*. But these, strictly speaking, are not anachronisms, but, on the whole, justifiable licences; for it would have been impossible to transmit the humour of such characters as the above to an English audience under the disguise of foreign names, though it must be admitted that mere English characters as well as names are sometimes introduced. Nor is Shakspeare always responsible for such whimsicalities, for they are occasionally to be traced in the materials whereof his plays were constructed; and others belong to those authors whom he had only assisted in dramas the whole composition of which had been improperly ascribed to him.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

The incidents in this play are supposed to belong to the reign of Henry the Fourth, and consequently the introduction of the *shillings of Edward the Sixth*, and the mention of *Machiavel* are improper; as well as the then newly-introduced terms of the fencing-school ridiculed by Shallow.

Perhaps *Ancient Pistol* and *Corporal Nym* are objectionable titles. The allusions to *Guiana* and the *West Indies* by Falstaff are obvious anachronisms.

TWELFTH NIGHT.

The introduction of the *bed of Ware* may be justified, because it is referred to as in England; but the same defence cannot be made for *the bells of Saint Bennet*, as they are specifically alluded to.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

We have here an English jury in a German court of justice.

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

The scene of this play lies at Athens, in the time of Theseus, but we find the mention of *gyns*; of *French-crowns* and *French-crown-coloured beards*; of *church-yards* and *coats in*

288 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

heraldry ; of clean *linen*, new *ribbons* to *pumps*, and *masks* ; of *Jack and Gill*, the *nine-mens morris*, and *blessing the bridal bed*. *Carols*, inasmuch as they are applicable to songs in general, and, in an antiquated sense, to dances, may be doubtful, though the allusion was in all probability to Christmas carols. *Hermia* is made to speak of the fire which burned the *Carthage queen*.

MERCHANT OF VENICE.

English juries are introduced into the Venetian republic.

WINTER'S TALE.

The transactions of this play arise in Sicily and Bohemia ; and though the characters are imaginary, they are supposed to exist in Pagan times. Notwithstanding this we have *Whitson pastorals*, *Christian burial*, a *hobby-horse*, an emperor of *Russia*, and an Italian painter of the *fifteenth century*.

COMEDY OF ERRORS.

In the *ancient* city of Ephesus we have *ducats*, *marks*, and *guilders*, and the *abbess of a nunnery*. Mention is also made of several *modern* European kingdoms, and of *America* ; of *Henry the Fourth of France*, of *Turkish* tapestry, a *rapier*, and a *striking clock* ; of *Lapland* sorcerers, *Satan*, and even of *Adam* and *Noah*. In one place *Anti-pholis* calls himself a *Christian*. As we are unacquainted with the immediate source whence this play was derived, it is impossible to ascertain whether Shakspeare is responsible for these anachronisms.

MACBETH.

The errors here are confined to the introduction of *cannon* and of *dollars*.

KING JOHN.

In this play we also find *cannon*, with *angels*,
VOL. II. U

290 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

half-fac'd groats and *three-farthing pieces*. *Cards* too are introduced, and *Basilisco*, a character of the time of Shakspeare.

KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

The anachronisms are very numerous in the plays on this reign. We have *pistols* and *silk stockings*; *gilt two-pences*, and *ten-shilling-pieces*; a ballad with a *picture* on it, evidently alluding to the wood-cuts on those compositions; the game of *shove-groat* or *slide shrift*, which was not invented before the reign of Henry the Eighth. Mention is also made of *John Scogan* jester to Edward the Fourth, and of *Arthur's show* though not introduced till a long time afterwards.

KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

The Turks are put into possession of *Constantinople*, which did not fall into their hands till upwards of thirty years after Henry's death.

KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

Machiavel, who was not born till 1469, is twice introduced in these plays. Printing is also prematurely mentioned.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

An old woman is made to talk of bow'd *three-pences* ; but these pieces were not known in England till the reign of Edward the Sixth, though some are said to have been coined in Ireland during that of Edward the Fourth.

TROIUS AND CRESSIDA.

Hector quotes *Aristotle* ; Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing *Milo*, and Pandarus of a man born in *April*. *Friday* and *Sunday* and even *minced-pies* with dates in them are introduced.

TIMON OF ATHENS.

Paper is mentioned in this play. In a Roman drama it might have passed; but we have no evidence that the Greeks used the papyrus plant at this early period.

CORIOLANUS.

Alexander, Cato, and Galen, are improperly alluded to, all being posterior to the time of Coriolanus. Other anachronisms are—the mention of graves in a holy *church-yard*; *groats, mummings, lockram*, and a kitchen *malkin*. Coriolanus describes the populace by the names of *Hob and Dick*.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Cassius speaks of a *masker and reveller, and of the clock striking three*.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Antony talks of *packing cards*, and deals out his *knaves*, *queens*, *hearts*, and *trumps*, as if he were a whist-player. His bestowing the epithet of *gipsy* on Cleopatra is whimsical, but may perhaps admit of defence.

CYMBELINE.

The British tribute being estimated at three thousand pounds, strikes on the ear as a modern computation. Imogen calls her supposed master, a valiant ancient Briton, by the name of *Richard Du Champ*. We find mention of the recreation of *bowling*; of *paper*; of *rushes* strewed in apartments; of a *striking clock*; of *cherubims*, and a *chapel* as a *burial place*. Cymbeline is made to knight Bellario and his sons on the field of battle by *dubbing* them according to the fashion of the middle ages.

TITUS ANDRONICUS.

The period in which the incidents in this play are supposed to have happened (for they are all fictitious) is difficult to ascertain. There was an usurper called Saturninus during the reigns of Gallien and Aurelian, but he was not the son of any Roman emperor, as stated in the *dramatis personæ*. From the introduction of the Goths, the author perhaps adverted to the time of the above sovereigns. In all events the play has many absurdities to answer for. A child is sent to Aaron the Moor to be *christened* by him. He accuses Lucius of twenty *Popish* tricks; talks of an *idiot's bauble*; and says he can blush "like a black dog, as the saying is." A clown invokes "God and *Saint Stephen*." Aaron calls for *clubs*, as if addressing the *London 'prentices*; and Demetrius speaks of a *dancing rapier*. *Cards* and a *monastery* are also introduced.

PERICLES.

The story, though altogether fabulous, belongs

to a period a little antecedent to the Christian æra ; and therefore it is a manifest inconsistency to introduce *crowns of the sun*; *sequins* ; a *pistol*; *cambrick* ; a *Spanish ruff*; *signs of inns* ; *Monsieur Veroles a French knight* ; a *Spanish name and motto*, and the *lues Venerea*. Amidst numerous invocations to Heathen Gods, there is an immediate allusion to the unity of the Deity.

KING LEAR.

We have here a plentiful crop of blunders. Kent talks, like a good Protestant, of *eating no fish* ; and Gloster, of not standing in need of *spectacles*. We have *Turks*, *Bedlam beggars*, *child Roland*, *Saint Withold*, a *Marshal of France*, *steeple*, *dollars*, *paper*, *holy water*, and the *French disease*. There is an allusion to the old theatrical *moralities*; and *Nero*, who did not live till several hundred years after Lear, is mentioned by Edgar as an angler in the lake of darkness.

HAMLET.

The Danish history has placed Hamlet in fabu-

296 ON THE ANACHRONISMS, &c.

lous times, long before the introduction of Christianity into the North of Europe ; and therefore there is great impropriety in the frequent allusion to Christian customs. Hamlet swears by *Saint Patrick* ; and converses with Guildenstern on the *children of the chapel of Saint Paul's*. In several places *cannon* are introduced, and a good deal of the theatrical manners of Shakspeare's own time. We have a *Danish seal royal* long before seals were used ; a *university* at Wittenberg ; *Swiss guards* ; *serjeants* or *bailiffs* ; *bells* ; *ducats* ; *crown-pieces* ; *modern heraldry* ; *rapiers*, and terms of *modern fencing*.



DISSERTATION I.

ON THE

CLOWNS AND FOOLS

OF

SHAKSPEARE.



A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
CLOWNS AND FOOLS
OF
SHAKSPEARE.

THE ensuing dissertation originated from the opinion of a late eminent critic and antiquary that the subject was deserving of particular consideration. How imperfectly it must be executed will best be felt by those who are already accustomed to obscure inquiries; and little more can here be offered, or reasonably expected, than some attempt to arrange a few materials that have occurred during a course of reading immediately connected with the history of ancient manners. The critic above alluded to had remarked, that Shakspeare has most judiciously varied and discriminated his fools^a. Without doubting that

^a See a note by Mr. Ritson in *Twelfth night*, Act ii. Sc. 3. edit. Steevens, vol. iv. p. 53.

300 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

great writer's capacity to have done so, it certainly remains to be proved that he has; or it might even be maintained that on some occasions he has left his sketches so imperfect as to render it by no means an easy matter to comprehend them. It has already been thought better to make the attempt in a separate note to the plays in which a clown or fool is introduced, and to direct what is now offered to a more general view of the subject.

It is so exceedingly clear that the terms *clown* and *fool* were used, however improperly, as synonymous by our old writers, that it would be an unnecessary occupation of the reader's time to adduce examples. Their confused introduction in the *dramatis personæ* might indeed render this position doubtful to any one who had not well considered the matter; but although the *fool* of our old plays denoted either a mere idiot or natural, or else a witty hireling or artificial fool, both retained for the purpose of making sport for their employers, the *clown* was certainly a character of much greater variety. He occasionally represented one of the above personages; sometimes he was a mere rustic, and very often no more than a shrewd and witty domestic. There are some instances in which any low character in a

play served to amuse the audience with his sallies of coarse buffoonery, and thus became the *clown* of the piece. In short, the theatrical clown or fool seems to have been a kind of heterogeneous character, drawn in part from real life, but very considerably heightened in order to produce stage effect ; an opinion that derives considerable support from what Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Hamlet, when he makes him admonish those who play the clowns to speak no more than is set down for them. Indeed the great dramatist himself cannot be absolved from the imputation of having given too high a colouring to the characters in question, unless we suppose, what is extremely probable, that his plays have been very much interpolated with the extemporaneous nonsense of the players. To this licentious practice the author of an excellent and well written satire, entitled *Pasquil's mad-cappe, throwne at the corruptions of these times*, 1626, 4to, alludes in the following lines :

“ Tell country players, that old paltry jests
Pronounced in a painted motley coate,
Filles all the world so full of cuckoes nests,
That nightingales can scarcely sing a note :
Oh bid them turne their minds to better meanings ;
Fields are ill sowne that give no better gleanings.”

Among other grave writers of the age, Sir

302 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

Philip Sidney has reprobated the practice of introducing fools on the theatre. He remarks that the plays of his time were neither right tragedies nor right comedies, but that the authors mingled kings and clowns, "not," says he, "because the matter so carieth it, but thrust in the *clowne* by head and shoulders to play a part in majesticall matters, with neither decencie nor discretion: so as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulnesse is by their mongrell tragicomédie obtained^b." William Rankin, a puritan, and contemporary with Shakspeare, has left us a most virulent attack on plays, and players, whom he calls monsters; "And whie monsters," says he, "Bicause under colour of humanitie they present nothing but prodigious vanitie. These are wels without water, dead branches fit for fuell, cockle amongst corne, unwholesome weedes amongst sweete hearbes, and finallie, feends that are crept into the worldé by stealth, and holde possession by subtill invasion." In another place, describing the performers at a fictitious banquet in Terralbon, [England] he says, "Some transformed themselves to roges, other to ruffians, some other to *clownes*, a fourth to *fooles* . . .

^b *Defence of poesie*, near the end.

the roges were ready, the ruffians were rude, *theyr clownes cladde* as well with country condition, as in ruffe russet; *theyr fooles as fonde as might be,*" &c.^c The latter passage is interesting, because the clown is properly distinguished from the fool, as he always should have been.

It may be the means of affording a clearer view of the present subject, if something like a classification of the different sorts of fools and clowns be given. The following is therefore offered as a substitute for a better.

I. *The general domestic fool*, often, but as it should seem improperly, termed a clown. He was 1. a mere natural, or idiot. 2. Silly by nature, yet cunning and sarcastical. 3. Artificial. Puttenham, speaking of the latter, says, "A buffonne or counterfet foole, to here him speake wisely which is like himselfe, it is no sport at all; but for such a counterfait to talke and looke foolishly it maketh us laugh, because it is no part of his naturall^d." All these officiated occasionally as menial servants.

II. *The clown*, who was 1. a mere country

^c *Mirroure of monsters*, 1587, 4to, fo. 7.

^d *Arte of English poesie*, 1589, 4to, fo. 243.

304 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

booby. 2. A witty rustic. 3. Any servant of a shrewd and witty disposition, and who, like a similar character in our modern plays, was made to treat his master with great familiarity in order to produce stage effect.

III. *The female fool*, who was generally an idiot.

IV. *The city or corporation fool*, whose office was to assist at public entertainments and in pageants. To this class belong perhaps the Lord Mayor's state fool, and those employed by the companies of trades, &c.

V. *Tavern fools*. These seem to have been retained to amuse the customers. We learn from one of Ben Jonson's plays that they exhibited with a Jew's harp, mounted on a joint-stool^c, and in another of them he has preserved the name of such a character^f: they were sometimes qualified to sing after the Italian manner^g. Fools were also employed in the common brothels^h.

VI. *The fool of the ancient theatrical mysteries and moralities*. He was, more properly speaking, the *Vice*, a singular character, that would afford sufficient matter for much better

^c *The devil is an ass*, Sc. 1.

^f *The fox*, Act ii. Sc. 1.

^g Marston's *Malcontent*, Sc. 7.

^h See vol. i. p. 151.

dissertations than those of Warburton or Upton. Being generally dressed in a fool's habit, he appears to have been gradually and undistinguishably blended with the domestic fool; yet he was certainly a buffoon of a different sort. He was always a bitter enemy to the Devil, and a part of his employment consisted in teasing and tormenting the poor fiend on every occasion. He ceased to be in fashion at the end of the sixteenth century¹.

VII. *The fool in the old dumb shows exhibited at fairs and perhaps at inns*, in which he was generally engaged in a struggle with Death; a fact that seems alluded to more than once in Shakspeare's plays. It is possible that some casual vestiges of this species of entertainment might have suggested the modern English pantomimes.

VIII. *The fool in the Whitsun ales and Morris dance*.

IX. *The mountebank's fool, or merry Andrew*.

There may be others introduced into our old dramas of an indefinite and irregular kind, and not reducible to any of the above classes; but to exemplify these or many of the above by a specific reference to authorities is not within the

¹ *The Devil is an ass*, Sc. 1.

306 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

scope of the present essay. It is hoped that what has been just stated may contribute to assist the readers of old plays in forming some judgment of their own whenever the necessity shall arise.

A general investigation of that most singular and eccentric character the real domestic fool would occupy more space than could here have been spared. It would indeed extend to a length that few will conceive ; but should the same laudable spirit of curiosity respecting the manners of former times which at present constitutes much of the amusement of an enlightened public continue to maintain its influence, encouragement would not be wanting to resume the subject more at large. In the mean time it may be sufficient to remark that the practice of retaining fools can be traced in very remote times throughout almost all civilized and even among some barbarous nations. It prevailed from the palace to the brothel. The pope had his fool, and the bawd her's ; and ladies entertained them of both sexes. With respect to the antiquity of this custom in our own country, there is reason to suppose that it existed even during the period of our Saxon history ; but we are quite certain of the fact in the reign of William the conqueror. An almost contemporary historian, Maitre Wace, has left us a curious ac-

count of the preservation of William's life when he was only duke of Normandy by his fool *Goles*^k. Mention is made in Domesday of *Berdic jocular regis*; and although this term was unquestionably applied in numerous instances to denote a minstrel, much evidence might be adduced to show that on this occasion it signified a buffoon. Latin terms were used by the middle-age writers so licentiously and with such extreme carelessness, that in many cases it is difficult to obtain a precise idea of their meaning. Thus the jesters and minstrels were indefinitely expressed by the words *joculator*, *scurra*, *mimus*, *ministrallus*, &c., a practice that may admit of justification when we consider that in early times the minstrel and buffoon characters were sometimes united in one person. It must be allowed, however, that in an etymological point of view the term *joculator* is much better adapted to the jester than the minstrel.

The accounts of the household expenses of our sovereigns contain many payments and rewards to fools both foreign and domestic, the motives for which do not appear, but might perhaps have been some witty speech or comic action that had

^k *Roman des ducs de Normandie*, MS. Reg. 4, C. xi.

308 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

pleased the donors. Some of these payments are annual gifts at Christmas. Dr. Fuller, speaking of the court jester, whom he says some count a necessary evil, remarks, in his usual quaint manner, that it is an office which none but he that hath wit can perform, and none but he that wants it will perform^l. A great many names of these buffoons have been preserved; and sufficient materials remain to furnish a separate biography of them, which might afford even more amusement than can be found in the lives of many of their betters. They continued an appurtenance to the English court to a late period. Muckle John, the fool of Charles the First, and the successor of Archee Armstrong, is perhaps the last regular personage of the kind^m. The national troubles that produced the downfall of regal power, and

Holy state, p. 182.

^m This person was probably the subject of the following lines in Bancroft's *Epigrams*, 1639, 4to:

“How plumpe's the libertine! how rich and trimme!
He jests with others, fortune jests with him.”

Mr. Garrard, in a letter to lord Strafford, says “There is a new fool in his [Archee's] place, Muckle John, but he will ne'er be so rich, for he cannot abide money.” *Strafford papers*, ii. 154.

the puritanical manners that ensued, at once determined the existence of an office that had so long maintained its ground at court ; and when Charles the Second resumed the throne, it was probably deemed a matter of no moment to restore it. The common stories that relate to Killigrew as jester to Charles, rest on no sufficient authority ; and although he might have contributed to amuse the witty monarch with his jokes, it is certain that he had no regular appointment to such an office. Mr. Granger has justly observed, that the wit of the buffoons became the highest recommendation of a courtier in the time of Charles the Secondⁿ.

The discontinuance of the court fool had a considerable influence on the manners of private life ; and we learn from one of Shadwell's plays, that it was then " out of fashion for great men to keep fools °." But the practice was by no means abolished ; it maintained its ground in this country so late as the beginning of the last century ; and we have an epitaph, written by Dean Swift, on Dicky Pearce the Earl of Suffolk's fool, who was buried in Berkley church-yard, June 18,

ⁿ *Biogr. hist. of England*, i. 116.

• *The woman captain*, 1680, Sc. 1.

312 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

the world) utterly lost." This is the picture of a real hireling or artificial fool.

As the profession of these hirelings required a considerable degree of skill and dexterity to amuse their employers, so it would in some instances fail of success, and the want of the above talents would excite considerable disgust and dissatisfaction. Cardinal Perron being one day in company with the duke of Mantua, the latter, speaking of his fool, said that he was *un magro buffone & non haver spirito*. The cardinal remarked that nevertheless he had wit. "Why so?" demanded the duke; "Because," replied the other, "he lives by a trade which he does not understand⁹." The liberties allowed them were necessarily very great; but this was not always a protection to them. Every one knows the disgracefully severe conduct of archbishop Laud to poor Archee. The duke d'Espernon, though a man of great haughtiness of spirit, conducted himself on a similar occasion with much more discretion. His Gascon accent was a constant subject of raillery on the part of Maret, the fool of Louis XIII., whose great talent lay in mimicry. Cardinal

⁹ *Perroniana*, inter *Scaligerana*, &c. i. 115.

Richelieu, who took upon him to give the duke some pointed admonitions, ordered him among other things to endeavour to get rid of his provincial tones, at the same time counterfeiting his speech, and sarcastically intreating him not to take his advice in bad part. "But why should I," replied the duke, "when I bear as much every day from the king's fool who mocks me in your presence?" Selden has remarked, on a similar occasion, that a gallant man is above ill words, and has left us a story of the forbearance of the old lord Salisbury, whom he calls a great wise man, towards Stone, a celebrated fool in the reign of James the First*. Fools, however, did not always escape with impunity; they were liable to, and often experienced, very severe domestic castigation. Whipping was the punishment generally inflicted†. On the

* Vigneul de Marville, *Mélanges*. ii. 50.

† *Table talk*, Art. Evil-speaking.

‡ This appears from many of our old plays. *Lear* threatens his fool with the whip, Act i. Sc. 4; and see *As you like it*, Act i. Sc. 2. In Dr. Turner's *New booke of spirituall physik*, 1555, 12mo, fo. 8, there is a very curious story of John of Low, the king of Scotland's fool, which throws light on the subject in question. Yet the chastising of the poor fools seems to have been a very unfair practice, when it is considered that they were a privileged class with respect to their wit and satire. Olivia, in *Twelfth night*, says, that "there

314 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

other hand they appear to have been sometimes used with great tenderness. This is very feelingly exemplified in the conduct of Lear. Stafford, in his *Guide of honour*, 1634, 18mo, tells us, that he "had knowne a great and compētently wise man who would much respect any man that was good to his foole." An opportunity here presents itself of explaining the old proverb of "five pounds; you've bled a fool," which, adverting to the usual privilege or allowance belonging to this character, seems to demand a forfeit from whoever had infringed it by inflicting an improper and unlawful chastisement. This exposition de-

is no slander in an allowed fool though he do nothing but rail;" and Jaques, in *As you like it*, alludes to the above privilege. See likewise other instances in Reed's *Old plays*, iii. 253, and xi. 417. Yet in cases where the free discourse of fools gave just offence to the ears of modest females they seem to have been treated without mercy, and to have forfeited their usual privilege. This we learn from Brantôme, who, at the end of his *Dames galantes*, relates a story of a fool belonging to Elizabeth of France, who got a whipping in the kitchen for a licentious speech to his mistress. A representation of the manner in which the flagellation of fools was performed may be seen in a German edition of Petrarch *De remediis utriusque fortunæ*, published more than once at Frankfort, in the sixteenth century, part ii. chap. 100.

rives support from a passage in Ben Jonson's *For*, and also contributes to its illustration. In the second act there is a song describing a fool, in which it is said that he "speaks truth free from slaughter." This has been with some ingenuity supposed to mean "*free* from hurting any one." The other construction may perhaps be thought as plausible.

With respect to his office on the stage, we may suppose it would be nearly the same as in reality; the difference might be that his wit was more highly seasoned. Mr. Malone has already cited a very curious passage on this subject from the play of *The careless shepherdess*, 1656^u. In Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough*, a company of actors with a clown make their appearance, and the following dialogue ensues:

FIRST CHEATER.

This is our clown, sir.

SIMON.

Fye, fye, your company
Must fall upon him and beat him; he's too fair, i' faith
To make the people laugh.

FIRST CHEATER.

Not as he may be dress'd sir.

^u See his note in *All's well that ends well*, Act i. Sc. 3.

316 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

SIMON.

'Faith, dress him how you will, I'll give him.
That gift, he will never look half scurvily enough.
Oh, the clowns that I have seen in my time.
The very peeping out of one of them would have
Made a young heir laugh, though his father lay a dying;
A man undone in law the day before
(The saddest case that can be) might for his second
Have burst himself with laughing, and ended all
His miseries. Here was a merry world, my masters!
Some talk of things of state, of puling stuff;
There's nothing in a play like to a clown,
If he have the grace to bit on it, that's the thing indeed.

SIMON.

Away then, shift; clown to thy *molley* crupper.

Whoever is desirous of obtaining general and accurate information concerning the great variety of dresses that belong to some of the characters in question at different periods, must study ancient prints and paintings, and especially the miniatures that embellish manuscripts. These will afford sufficient specimens; but the difficulty of ascertaining how the *theatrical fools and clowns* of Shakspeare's time were *always* habited, is insuperable. In some instances the plays themselves assist by peculiar references that leave but little doubt; but this is not the case in general. It is to be lamented that our artists did not ap-

propriate more of their labours to the representation of theatrical subjects, and the fortunate discovery of a single ancient painting of this kind would be of more importance than a volume of conjectural dissertations. As it may be presumed that former theatrical managers exhibited with fidelity on the stage the manners of their own times, a reference to the materials which remain to illustrate the dress of the real fools, may supply the defect before alluded to.

It may be collected both from the plays themselves, and from various other authorities, that the costume of the domestic fool in Shakspeare's time was of two sorts. In the first of these the coat was motley or parti-coloured, and attached to the body by a girdle, with bells at the skirts and elbows, though not always. The breeches and hose close, and sometimes each leg of a different colour. A hood resembling a monk's cowl, which, at a very early period, it was certainly designed to imitate, covered the head entirely, and fell down over part of the breast and shoulders. It was sometimes decorated with asses ears, or else terminated in the neck and head of a cock^w, a fashion as old as the

^w Plate II. fig. 1. Plate VI. fig. 2. 3. 4.

318 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

fourteenth century. It often had the comb or crest only of the animal^x, whence the term *cockscomb* or *coxcomb* was afterwards used to denote any silly upstart. This fool usually carried in his hand an official scepter or bauble, which was a short stick ornamented at the end with the figure of a fool's head, or sometimes with that of a doll or puppet^y. To this instrument there was frequently annexed an inflated skin or bladder, with which the fool belaboured those who offended him, or with whom he was inclined to make sport; this was often used by itself, in lieu, as it should seem, of a bauble^z. The form of it varied,

^x Plate II. fig. 3.

^y Plate III. fig. 7. 8. 9. Plate V. Hence the French call a bauble *marotte*, from *Marionnette*, or little Mary: but if the learned reader should prefer to derive the word from the Greek *μωρος*, or the Latin *morio*, he is at full liberty to do so; and indeed such preference would be supported by the comparatively modern figure of the child's head, which the term *marotte* might have suggested. The bauble originally used in King Lear is said to have been extant so late as the time of Garrick, and the figure of it would certainly have been worth preserving. To supply its place a representation is given of the head of a real bauble very finely carved in ivory. See plate IV. fig. 3. 4. A bauble is very often improperly put into the hands of Momus.

^z Plate III. fig. 2. 6. 7. 9. Plate VI. fig. 1. 3.

and in some instances was obscene in the highest degree. It was not always filled with air, but occasionally with sand, or pease. Sometimes a strong bat or club was substituted for the bauble^a. In the second tale of the priests of Peblis, a man who counterfeits a fool is described "with club and bel and partie cote with eiris;" but it afterwards appears that he had both a club and a bauble. In an inventory of the goods of the ancient company of Saint George at Norwich, mention is made of "two habits, one for the club-bearer, another for his man, who are now called fools^b;" and the author of *Tarlton's newes out of purgatory*, 1630, 4to, describes a dream in which he saw "one attired in russet with a button'd cap on his head, a great bag by his side, and a strong bat in his hand, so artificially attired for a clowne, as I began to call Tarlton's woonted shape to remembrance."

In some old prints the fool is represented with a sort of flapper or rattle ornamented with bells. It seems to have been constructed of two round and flat pieces of wood or pasteboard, and is, no

^a Plate III. fig. 4; and see Strutt's *Dress and habits of the people of England*, plate LXXI.

^b Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, ii. 737.

320 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

doubt, a vestige of the *crotalum* used by the Roman mimes or dancers^c. This implement was used for the same purpose as the bladder, and occasionally for correcting the fool himself whenever he behaved with too much licentiousness. Such a castigation is actually exhibited in one ancient German edition of the *Ship of fools*, by Sebastian Brandt; but the usual punishment on this occasion was a simple whipping. In some old plays the fool's *dagger* is mentioned, perhaps the same instrument as was carried by the *Vice* or buffoon of the Moralities; and it may be as well to observe in this place that the domestic fool is sometimes, though it is presumed improperly, called the *Vice*^d. The dagger of the latter was made of a thin piece of lath; and the use he

^c Plate III. fig. 1. In the Imperial library at Vienna, there is a manuscript calendar, said to have been written in the time of Constantius the son of Constantine the great, with drawings of the twelve months. April is represented as a man dancing with a *crotalum* in each hand. This instrument was probably constructed of brass, in order to make a rattling noise. See it represented in Plate III. fig. 3, which is copied from a print in *Lambecii Bibl. Cæsar. Vindobon.* tom. iv. p. 291. These months are also given in Montfaucon's antiquities.

^d See Ben Jonson's *Devil is an ass*, Sc. 1.

generally made of it was to belabour the Devil. It appears that in queen Elizabeth's time the archbishop of Canterbury's fool had a wooden dagger and coxcomb^c. In Greene's play of *Fryer Bacon*, the fool speaks of his dagger. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble gentleman*, a person being compared to a fool, it is added that he should wear a guarded coat and a great wooden dagger. In Chapman's *Widows tears*, an upstart governor is termed "a wooden dagger gilded o'er;" and Rabelais has made Panurge give Triboulet the fool a wooden sword. In an old German print a fool is represented with a sword like a saw^f.

The other dress, and which seems to have been more common in the time of Shakspeare, was the long petticoat^g. This originally appertained to the idiot or natural fool, and was obviously adopted for the purposes of cleanliness and concealment. Why it came to be used for the allowed fool is not so apparent. It was, like the

^a Penry's *Oread over John Bridges*, fo. 48.

^c Plate III. fig. 5, copied from Schopperi ΠΑΝΟΠΙΑΙΑ, *omnium illiberalium artium genera continens*, &c. Francof. 1568, 12mo, sign. O. 8.

^g Plate VI. fig. 1. 2.

322 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

first, of various colours, the materials often costly, as of velvet, and guarded or fringed with yellow^h. In one instance we have a *yellow leather* doubletⁱ. In Bancroft's *Epigrams*, 1639, quarto, there is one addressed "to a giglot with her greene sicknesse," in which are these lines :

" Thy sicknesse mocks thy pride, that's seldom seene
But in *foole's yellow*, and the lover's greene."

And a manuscript note in the time of the commonwealth states yellow to have been the *fool's colour*. This petticoat dress continued to a late period, and has been seen not many years since in some of the interludes exhibited in Wales.

But the above were by no means the only modes in which the domestic fools were habited. Many variations can be traced. The hood was not always surmounted with the cocks comb, in lieu of which a single bell and occasionally more appeared^k. Sometimes a feather was added to the comb^l. In the old morality of *The longer*

^h Prologue to *King Henry the Eighth*. Marston's *Malcontent*, Act i. Sc. 7, and Act iii. Sc. 1.

ⁱ Malone's *Shakspeare*, vol. I. part ii. p. 301.

^k Plate II. fig. 4. Plate IV. fig. 1.

^l Plate IV. fig. 1.

thou livest the more foole thou art, Moros the fool says,

“By my trouth the thing that I desire most
Is in my cappe to have a *goodly feather*.”

The head was frequently shaved in imitation or perhaps ridicule of a monk's crown. This practice is very ancient, and can be traced to the twelfth century. In one instance the hair exhibits a sort of triple or Papal crown^m. The tails of foxes or squirrels were often suspended to the garment. Godfrey Gobilive the fool in Hawes's *Pastime of pleasure*, 1517, 4to, is described as so habited. In *The pope's funerall*, 1605, 4to, the author says, “I shall prove him such a noddie before I leave him that all the world will deeme him worthy to weare in his forehead a coxcombe for his foolishness, and on his back, a *fox taylor* for his badge.” It was likewise the dress of the fool in the plough pageant and morris danceⁿ. One might almost conclude that this custom was designed to ridicule a fashion that prevailed among the ladies in the reign of Edward the Third, and which is mentioned by the author of the old

^m Plate II. fig. 2.

ⁿ Coryat's *Crudities*, p. 9, edit. 1611, 4to. Brand's *Observ. on popular antiquities*, p. 176.

324 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

chronicle of England, erroneously ascribed to Caxton the printer, in the following terms, "And the women more nysely yet passed the men in aray and coriouslaker, for they were so streyt clothed that they let hange *fox tailles* sowed bineth within hir clothes for to hele and hide this a—, the which disguysinges and pride paradventure afterward brouzt forth and encaused many myshappes and meschief in the reame of Englund." The idiot or natural was often clothed in a calf or sheep's skin^o.

A large purse or wallet at the girdle is a very ancient part of the fool's dress. Tarlton, who personated the clowns in Shakspeare's time, appears to have worn it^p. The budget given by Panurge to Triboulet the fool is described as made of a tortoise shell^q.

^o See the notes on a passage in *King John*. Steevens's *Shakspeare*, viii. p. 79, edit. 1793. "The scribe claims the manor of Noverinte, by providing *sheep-skins and calves skins to wrappe his highness wards and idiotts in*." *Gesta Grayorum*, 1688, 4to.

^p See the quotation from Tarlton's *Newes out of purgatory* given in a preceding page (319.) The portrait of Tarlton in Hardinge's *Diographical mirror*, and a print in the title of Greene's *Tu quoque, or the cittie gallant*, show the costume of the purse and feather. See likewise Plate IV. fig. 2. and Plâte V.

^q *Rabelais*, book III. ch. 45.

We may suppose, that the same variety of dress was observed on the stage which we know to have actually prevailed in common life. The fools, however, did not always appear in a discriminative habit, and some of their portraits still remaining confirm this observation. A very fine painting by Holbein, in Kensington palace, represents Will Somers the fool of Henry the Eighth, in a common dress^r. In a wardrobe account of that sovereign we find these articles : "For making a dubblette of wursteede lyned with canvas and cotton, for William Som'ar oure foole. Item for making of a coote and a cappe of grene clothe fringed with red crule and lyned

^r This picture is very well engraven in Caulfield's *Portraits of remarkable persons*, vol. II. There is a beautifully illuminated psalter preserved among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, 2 A xvi, written by John Mallard the chaplain and secretary of Henry the Eighth, with several marginal notes in the king's own hand writing, some of which are in pencil. Prefixed to psalm 52, "Dixit insipiens," according to a very ancient custom, are the figures of king David and a fool, in this instance evidently the portraits of Henry and his favourite Will Somers. That of the latter person is here copied in Plate IV. fig. 2, but rather enlarged. The countenance bears a strong resemblance to that of the figure in Holbein's picture of Henry the Eighth and his family, already noticed in p. 36 of the present volume.

326 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

with fryse, for our saide foole. Item for making of a dublette of fustian, lyned with cotton and canvas for oure same foole." Yet he sometimes wore the usual hood instead of a cap; for in the same account is an article "For making of a coote of grene clothe with a *hoode* to the same, fringed with white crule lyned with fryse and bokerham, for oure foole aforesaid*;" and there is a print of him after a picture by Holbein, in which he is represented in a long tunic with a chain and horn in his hand^c. In the celebrated picture of Sir Thomas More's family by Holbein, Patenson the fool is not distinguished by any peculiarity of dress; and, in one instance at least, the same remark applies to Archy the fool of James I^u. In those families where the fool acted as a menial servant, it is possible that he might

* *Archæologia*, ix. p. 249.

^c In Tatham's play of *The Scot's figgaries*, 1652, 4to, the king's fool is described as habited in a long coat with a gold rope or chain about his neck.

^u See the print of Archy engraved by Cecill and prefixed to his *Jests*, in which, unless Mr. Granger could have been certain with respect to what he has called "a parti-coloured tunic," there is nothing discriminative of the fool's dress. This portrait has been copied in Caulfield's above-cited work.

have reserved his official habit for particular occasions. The paucity of materials that illustrate the theatrical character in question, must necessarily leave this part of the subject still more imperfect than the rest ; but the plays of Shakspeare have furnished more information than those of any other writer. It is surprising, on the whole, that the character of the domestic fool is so seldom found in the old dramas that remain ; because it was not only capable of affording considerable mirth to the unrefined part of the audience, but of giving the authors an opportunity of displaying a great deal of ingenuity so far as regarded extemporary wit. It is certain that the fools in Shakspeare's plays were preeminent above all others. For this we have the authority of Shadwell, who makes one of his characters say that they had more wit than any of the wits and critics of his time^w. Beaumont and Fletcher have but rarely introduced them ; Ben Jonson and Massinger never. Indeed the originals had rapidly declined at the period in which most of their plays were written, and another character of a mixed nature been substituted in their room. This was the witty servant or clown, (Class II.

^w *The woman captain*, Sc. 1.

328 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

No. 3.) and of course his dress was not distinguished by any peculiarity.

The practice of introducing the fools and clowns between the acts and scenes, and after the play was finished, to amuse the audience with extemporaneous wit and buffoonery, has been so well illustrated by the able historian of the English stage, that very little can remain to be said on the subject*. It has been traced from the Greek and Roman theatres; and, as their usages were undoubtedly preserved in those of the middle ages that belonged to the countries where Roman influence had been spread, it would not of course be peculiar to the early stage in England. Indeed the records of the French theatre amply demonstrate the truth of this position, and furnish several examples of the practice in question. In the mystery of *Saint Barbara* we find this stage direction, "Pausa. Vadant, et Stultus loquitur;" and he is several times introduced in like manner between the scenes, in order that the amusement of the spectators might not be suspended whilst something was in agitation for the further prosecution of the piece†. Perhaps

* See Mr. Malone's *Historical account of the English stage*.

† Parfait, *Histoire du théâtre François*, II. pp. 27, 46, 62.

the most singular *pause* in any dramatic composition whatsoever is one which occurs in the very rare morality of *La condemnation des banquetz* in the following words, "Pause pour pisser le fol. Il prent ung coffinet en lieu de orinal & pisse dedans, et tout coule par bas," sign. M. iij. Nor was the English stage in Shakspeare's time allowed to remain empty. Lupton has related a story of the clown at the Red Bull theatre, who was suddenly called for between the acts and forgot his fool's cap^r. Puttenham, speaking of verses that rime in the middle and end, observes that "they were more commodiously uttered by the buffoons or vices in playes then by any other person^s." It was likewise a part of the stage fool's office to introduce at his own discretion a great many old songs, or at least the fragments of them^b.

The first symptoms of the decline of the domestic fools, and the causes of it, have been already touched on; and the same reasons may partly be assigned for their exile from the stage.

^r See Mr. Steevens's note at the end of the second act of *The taming of the shrew*.

^s *Arte of English poesie*, 69.

^b See Mr. Steevens's note in *King Lear*, Act iii. Sc. 6.

330 ON THE CLOWNS AND FOOLS

In the præludium to Goffe's *Careless shepherdess*, 1656, 4to, there is a panegyric on them^c; and some concern is manifested for the fool's absence in the play itself. It is likewise expressly stated that "the motly coat was banish'd with trunk-hose." Yet during the reign of Charles the Second occasional efforts were made to restore the character. In the tragedy of *Thorney abbey, or the London maid*, 1662, 12mo, the prologue is spoken by a fool who uses these words, "the poet's a fool who made the tragedy to tell a story of a king and a court and leave a fool out on't, when in Pacy's and Sommer's and Patche's and Archee's times, my venerable predecessours, a fool was alwaies the principal verb." Shadwell's play of *The woman captain*, 1680, is perhaps the last in which a regular fool is introduced, and even there his master is made to say that the character was then exploded on the stage.

^c See Mr. Malone's note in *All's well that ends well*, Act i. Sc. 3.

The following is some additional and necessary explanation of the cuts belonging to this dissertation.

Plate II. fig. 1, is from *Catzii emblemata*. Fig. 2, is the duke of Suffolk's fool in the time of Henry VIII., copied from a print in Mr. Brydges's *Memoirs of the peers of England*. Fig. 3 and 4, are from paintings in the author's possession.

Plate III. All these instruments, excepting fig. 3 before described, are taken from various Dutch and German prints.

Plate IV. Fig. 1 is from an old German print by an unknown master.

Plate V. Is from a print by Breughel.

Plate VI. Fig. 1 and 3 are from *A booke of Christian prayers, &c.*, 1590, 4to, being figures belonging to a dance of Death. Fig. 2, is from the frontispiece to Heywood's comedy of *The fair maid of the exchange*. Similar figures of the costume of fools in the time of James I., or Charles I., may be seen in *The life of Will Summers*, compiled long after his time. Fig. 4 and 5 are from *La grant danse Macabre*, printed

332 *Explanation of the Cuts, &c.*

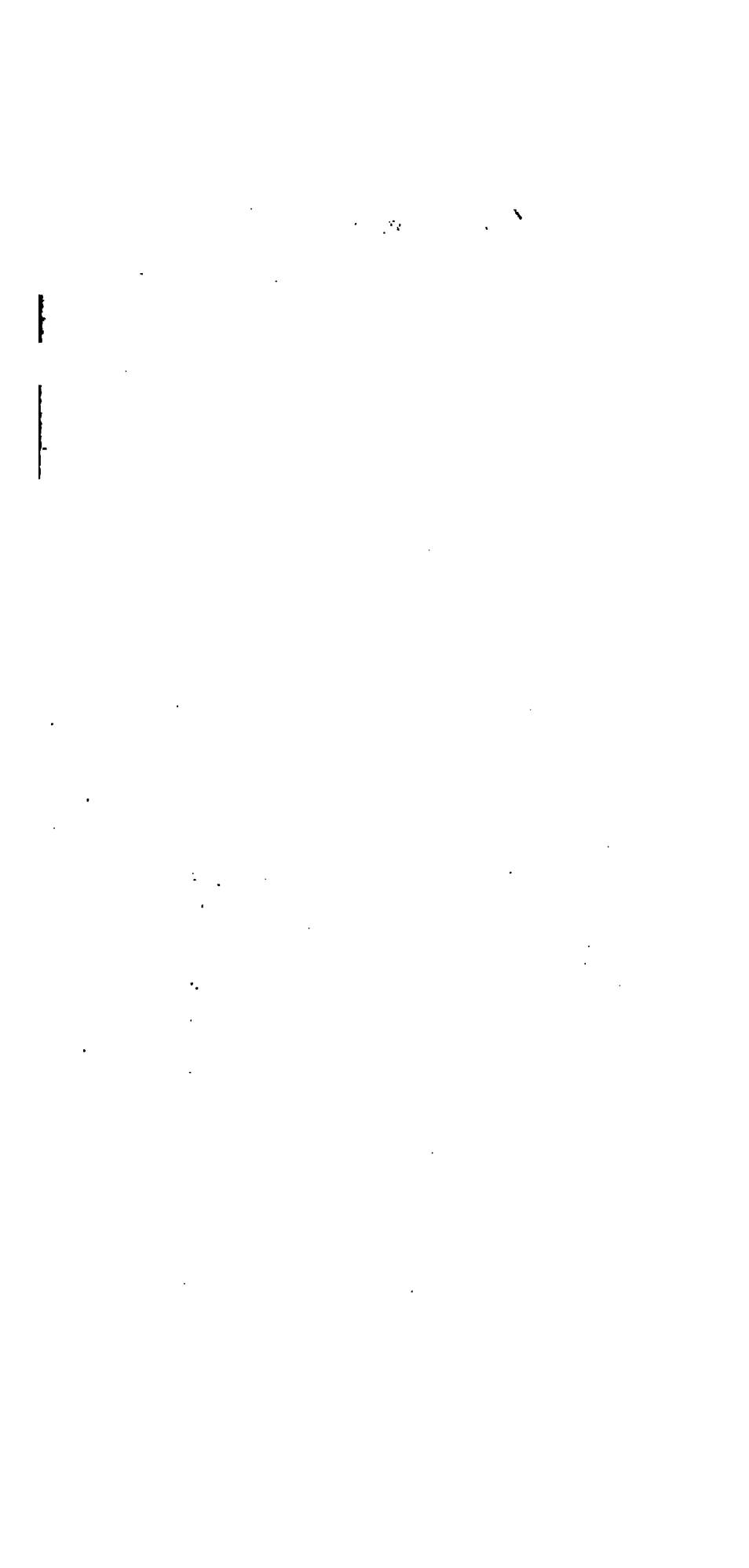
at Troyes without date, but about the year 1500, in folio, a book of uncommon rarity and curiosity.

Plate VII. Fig. 1 is from the *Stultarum virginum scaphæ seu naviculæ* of Badius Ascensius, another work of much rarity, and far exceeding that of the ship of fools by Sebastian Brandt. In all the editions of the latter, a great variety of the fools of the fifteenth century will be found. Fig. 2 is from a French translation of Saint Augustine on the city of God, printed at Abbeville 1486. It exemplifies the use of the tabor and pipe by fools; a practice that seems to have been revived by Tarlton in the time of Elizabeth.

Figures 3 and 4 in Plate VI., and fig. 1 in Plate VII., have been introduced to show the costume of female fools. Among others of this kind that might deserve notice is a very interesting one in the picture, by Holbein, of Henry the Eighth's family already mentioned.









After a drawing by Dr. W. H. W. H. W. H.

London: Published January 1, 1808 by Longman & Co. Pat. No. 100.





Pub. in 1608.

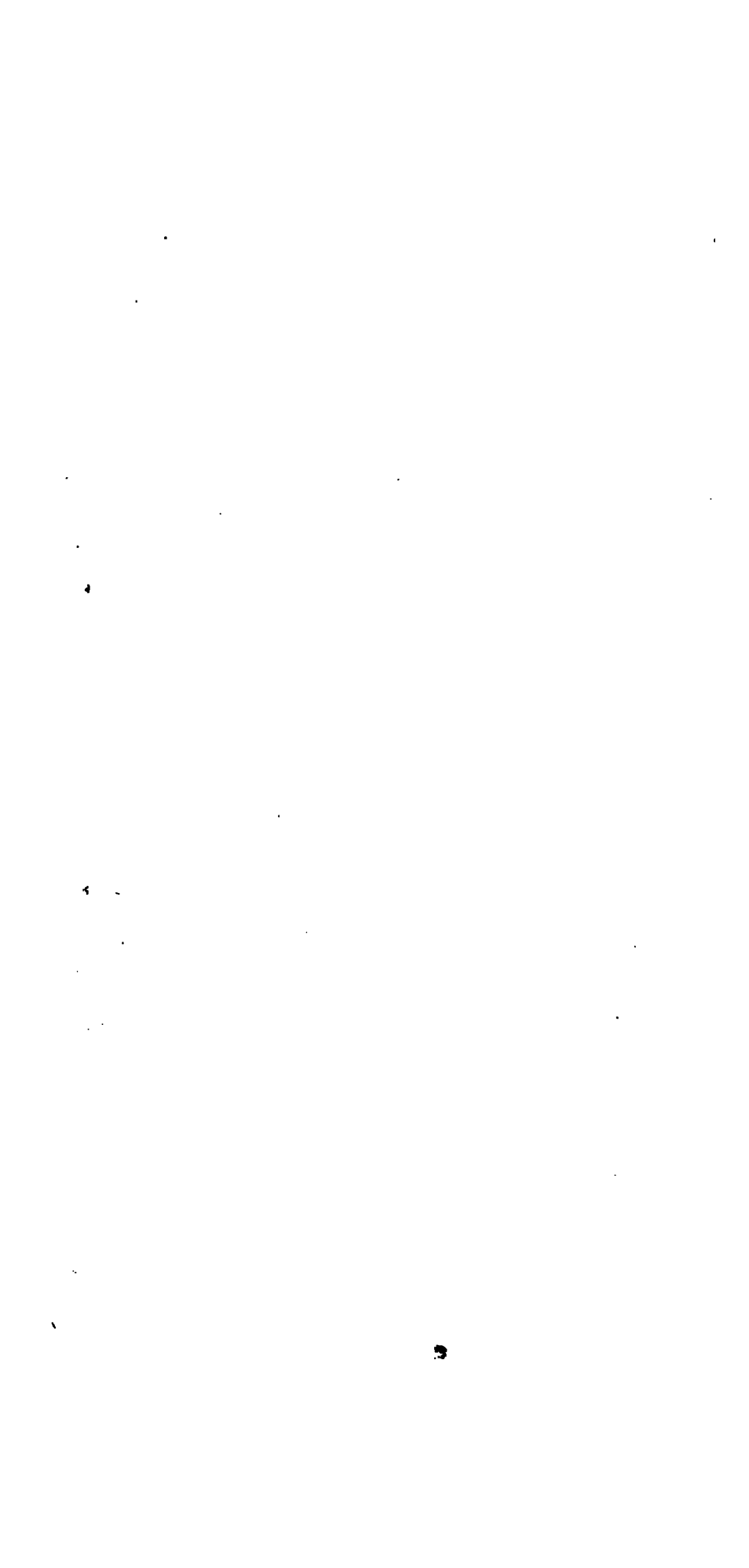
London Published, January 1 1608, by Longman & Co. Peter Porter Row.



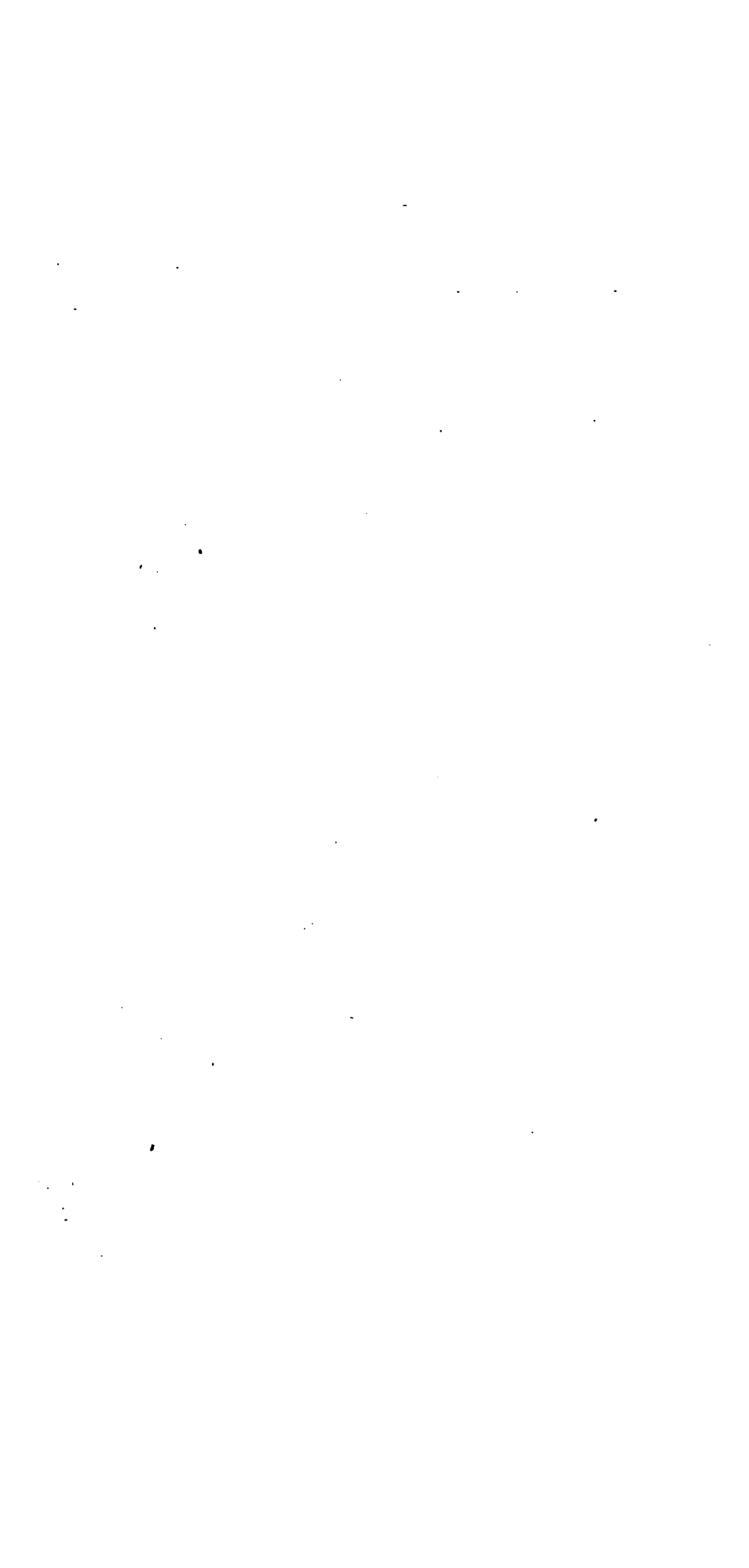


John W. Stroud.

London Published January 1. 1861, by Longman & Co. Fleet Street West.





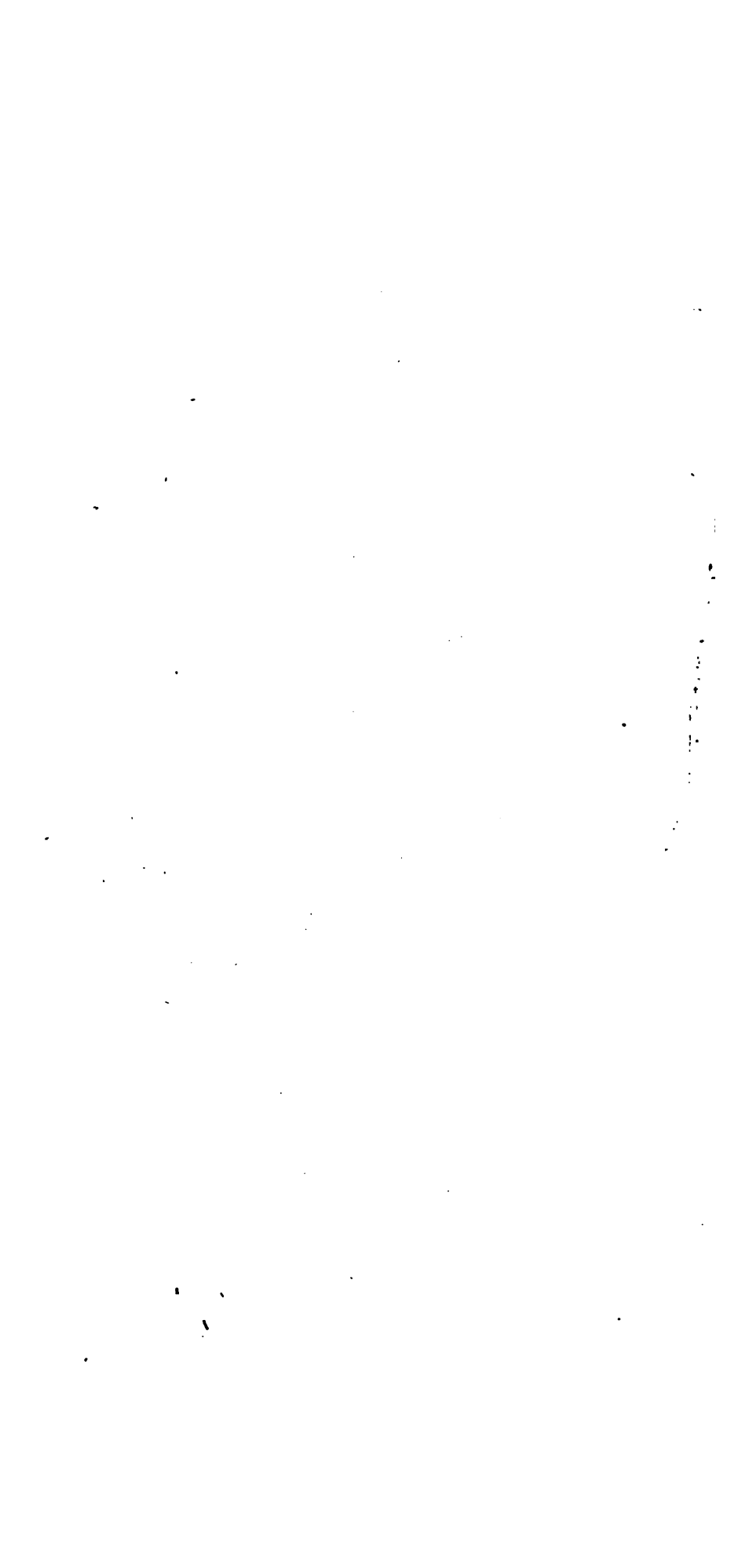


1



2





DISSERTATION II.

ON THE

GESTA ROMANORUM.



A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

GESTA ROMANORUM.

ENQUIRIES like the present, however unimportant to the generality of readers, will not fail of being duly appreciated by those who take an interest in tracing the origin and progress of literary genius, which has perhaps been never more successfully, and even laudably, employed, than in the composition of such works as combine amusement with instruction. Of these the simple and engaging apologues of many ancient writers form a considerable portion, and have always been justly and generally esteemed. This mode of conveying instruction became so attractive in the middle ages, that the ecclesiastics themselves were under the necessity of introducing narrations both historical and imaginary into their discourses, in order to acquire that degree of popularity and attention which might other-

386 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

wise have been wanting, and also for the purpose of inforcing their morality by such examples as should touch the feelings of the hearers, and operate, with respect, at least, to ruder minds, more efficaciously than precept. The work before us was designed to answer these purposes; and it not only proceeded on this ground in common with others of a similar nature, but has even furnished the materials to some of the best writers, and more especially poets, of ancient and modern times.

It will perhaps be expected that some reason should be assigned why the present essay has been attempted, after the labours of Mr. Warton on the same subject, which some may think has been amply and satisfactorily treated, if not exhausted; and if the judgment and accuracy of that pleasing and elegant writer had been commensurate with his taste and industry, the expectation had been exceedingly well founded. This however is, unfortunately, not the case. He has, in this and many other instances, left much to be done and undone; but we ought to feel very grateful to him for having founded a school that has already produced some accomplished pupils, and will, no doubt, contribute to form many a future one. Thus much seems due to

an amiable man and excellent character, who has been most undeservedly insulted for errors of small moment, and censured for opinions of the most innocuous kind. Even his antiquarian dullness and perseverance have been arraigned, as if in a work like the history of English poetry, genius should have occupied the place of industry, and have created those facts which honest men are content to discover; a method not uncommon with some writers who have derived too much of their importance from the indolence and superficiality of their readers, and who are unwilling to submit to those laws of providence which justly impose on man the duty of penetrating to the mine before he be permitted to enjoy the precious metal. Such was not Warton. His taste and research will remain the admiration of future ages, when the flimsy compositions of some of his opponents shall be totally forgotten. He has effected, however imperfectly, more for the illustration of English poetry than any or all of his predecessors, or than has hitherto been accomplished for the poetry of other nations, by any writer whatever.

Mr. Warton's dissertation would, no doubt, have been rendered more perfect, had he been aware of a fact which had not only escaped his

338 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

own attention, but even that of Mr. Tyrwhitt. Neither of these gentlemen, in consulting the manuscripts of the *Gesta Romanorum*, had perceived that there were *two* works so intitled, totally distinct from each other, except as to imitation, and certainly compiled by different persons. Of that treated of by Mr. Warton, it is presumed *no manuscript has been yet described*; of the other several manuscripts remain, *but it has never been printed, except in some translated extracts*. It will be better to postpone for the present any further mention of the latter, and to proceed to submit some additional remarks on the other. And first of its use and design.

A particular mode of instruction from the pulpit has been already hinted at, and will admit of some enlargement. Mr. Warton has mentioned one of the earliest instances of introducing Æsop's fables, as recorded by Vincent of Beauvais in the thirteenth century^a. Supplies of another kind were furnished to those who might be more scrupulous as to the use of profane examples, not only in that great repertory

^a p. j. For the benefit of those who may have an opportunity of consulting the original, a mistake in Mr. Warton's reference to the *Speculum historiale* is corrected, which should be lib. IV. c. viii.

of pious fictions *The golden legend*, but in multitudes of similar stories, denominated in France *contes devots*, and composed for the purpose of counteracting the great influence which the witty and licentious stories of the minstrels had obtained, of which they were palpable imitations both in construction and versification. Most of these were founded on miracles supposed to have been operated by the Virgin Mary. The earliest known specimens of them were composed in the twelfth century by Hugues Farsi, a monk of St. John de Vignes at Soissons, who was soon followed by many imitators both in prose and verse^b. His own work was turned into French verse by Gautier de Coinsi, another monk of Soissons, about 1230. A similar collection is the *Lives of the holy fathers*, chiefly from Saint Jerome, and anonymously composed in French verse by some person whose name deserved to

^b A fine collection of them, in verse, was in the library of the Duke de la Valliere. One volume is in MS., Harl. 4401, two others in the author's possession, as well as a third in prose, beautifully painted in camaieu gris. Some of those in prose have been printed. See a memoir by Racine in the *Acad. des inscript.* tom. xviii. p. 360. Specimens of them may be seen in the fifth volume of that very entertaining work the *Fabliaux et contes* of M. Le Grand.

340 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

have been recorded on account of the great merit of the work, which would be deemed an ornament to any period, for the excellence of the poetry.

The promptuary of examples for the use of preachers, at the end of Herolt's *Sermones discipuli*, composed in 1418, has been already mentioned by Mr. Warton, who has given a curious and correct account of that work ; but he has omitted to notice, that, among a multitude of pious authors cited in it, the name of Ovid appears. This practice of indiscriminate quotation became afterwards very common. It was, indeed, sanctioned by a preceding custom, among religious writers, of *moralizing* works of all denominations. Thus, to mention only a few, Thomas Walleys, a Welsh Dominican frier, had published his moralizations of Ovid's metamorphoses, in the fourteenth century^c. The *Bestiarium*, a treatise on animals, is, as well as the *Gesta Romanorum*, perhaps an earlier instance. Afterwards the ce-

^c There is a great deal of confusion respecting this man, some making him an English Jacobin of the fourteenth century. He has been mistaken for other persons of the same name, and his works are by no means well ascertained, being often confounded with those of Nicolas Trivet and others. In his Ovid he has been indebted to a preceding work by

lebrated, but licentious, *Romance of the rose* was moralized by Jean Molinet. Even the game of chess was moralized; for the reader who may take up Caxton's translation of Jacobus de Cæsolis, will be grievously disappointed should he expect to find any didactic or even historical information. We are not to wonder, therefore, if on the restoration of letters, a system of morality was extracted from Æsop and other fabulists; and, accordingly, some of the early printed editions of Æsop were published under the title of *Æsopus moralizatus*, and this, no doubt, led the way to the moral applications to his fables which afterwards appeared in other languages.

Among the preachers who interspersed their sermons with narrations of various kinds, a Carthusian monk of the fifteenth century deserves particular mention. With as much quaintness as humility, he styles himself *Guillelmus Hilacensis quondam simplex cordatus pauperculus discalci-*

Alexander Neckam. Another allegorical work on Ovid's metamorphoses was written about 1370, by Giovanni Buonsignore di Castello, and a tropological explanation of them was published by Pierre Lavigne, about 1500. There is also a manuscript in the Royal library at Paris, intitled *Ovidii metamorphosis moralisata, per Johannem Bourgauldum*. See Labbe *nova titl. MSS.*, p. 321.

342 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

atus ac contemptibilis denudatus, sapientissimorum rudissimus, electorum infimus, et minorum minimus. He has left a volume of sermons on the Lord's prayer, with stories in every page^d. In the British museum there is a very curious collection of Latin sermons, compiled about the reign of Henry the Sixth, by a person who calls himself a vicar of Magdalen college, Oxford. They abound with stories from Æsop, Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Saint Austin, venerable Bede, &c.^e Stephen Baron, an English Minorite in the reign of Henry the Eighth, has left a similar volume of sermons preached before the university of Cambridge^f.

Among the most remarkable persons of this description who soon followed, were fathers Menot, Maillard, Barelete, Raulin, Vincent Ferrier, Pierre de Boves, &c., whose discourses are filled with quotations from Virgil, Valerius Maximus, Apuleius, Dante, Petrarch, and the *Gesta Roma-*

^d It was printed at Paris, 1494, in 12mo, by Geringard Rembolt.

^e MS. Harl. 5396. This manuscript contains another similar collection; and these are the more worthy of being noticed, as we have very few of the kind printed in England.

^f These were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and at Paris, without date.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 343

norum. Erasmus, ridiculing the absurdities of some of the theologians, mentions their practice of quoting the *Speculum historiale* and *Gesta Romanorum*^s. Schelhorn speaks of a copy of the latter in his possession, dated 1499, in which some former possessor had marked against many of the stories the year in which he had used them in his sermons^h. Even in the eighteenth century the Italians had not left off this custom. Grosley states, that he heard a buffoon preacher at Rome, who stuffed his discourse with a thousand tales, among which was that of father Philip's geese, from Boccaccioⁱ.

There is a remarkable work to which the preachers of the middle ages appear to have been indebted, and which deserves mention here not only on that account, but also from its having hitherto remained in unmerited obscurity. This may be partly owing to its having never been printed. It is a collection of tales and fables that has been ascribed to Odo de Ceriton,

^s "Hic mihi stultam aliquam et indoctam fabulam, ex Speculo opinor historiali, aut Gestis Romanorum, in medium adferunt, et eandem interpretantur allegoricè, tropologicè, et anagogicè." *Stultitiæ laus*. Basil. 1780, 8vo. p. 261.

^h *Amœnit. eccles.*, i. 807.

ⁱ *Observ. on Italy*, ii. 108.

344 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

Shirton, or Cirington, for all these names are mentioned, a Cistercian monk of the twelfth century. In one manuscript they are called *proverbs*, and given to Hugo de Sancto Victore, of the monastery of Saint Victoire at Paris, and who lived much about the last-named period^k. There is perhaps no task more difficult than that of ascertaining the real authors of many works of the middle ages, especially where, as in the present instance, there occurs any thing satirical against religious abuses. The evidence with re-

^k This MS. is in the author's possession, as well as another of the same work with considerable variations. A third is in the library of the Royal Society, No. 292, and there ascribed to Odo de Ceriton. Concerning this person, who was tutor in theology to the celebrated John of Salisbury, see Bale, *Script. Brytann. catal.* pars i. p. 221. edit. 1559. Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernic.* p. 560. A great deal of confusion, and yet not more than is often found on similar occasions, has been made concerning this work and its author. It has been confounded with a moral treatise on natural history called *Bestiarium*, from which it is totally different. If the reader be desirous of perplexing himself with further inquiries concerning this subject, he may consult Fabricius, *Bibl. med. ætat.*, i. 93, & v. 406, edit. 1734. Cave, *Script. eccles.* p. 572. Pitts, p. 245. There is another similar but anonymous work among the Harl. MSS., No. 219, that has some fables not in the others, and wants many in both.

spect to authorship is in favour of the Englishman, because in some of the stories English sentences are found. Nor do the sarcasms against the clergy militate in the least against ecclesiastical manufacture. Numerous instances could be brought to show the satirical spirit of the clergy, frequently towards each other, and generally against the church of Rome.

The work in question is an extraordinary mixture of *Æsopian* fables with pious and profane histories in great variety. One or two specimens have been already given¹, but the reader may not regret the trouble of perusing the following in addition. "There is a kind of wren, named after Saint Martin, with very long and slender legs. This bird sitting one day in a tree, in the fullness of his pride suddenly exclaimed; 'It matters not to me though the heavens fall; for with the aid of my strong legs I shall be able to support them.' Presently a leaf fell upon the foolish boaster, who immediately flew away in great terror, exclaiming, 'O Saint Martin, Saint Martin, help your poor bird!'" The moral compares Saint Peter denying Christ to this wren, which it also assimilates to certain

¹ See vol. i. p. 255, vol. ii. p. 33.

346 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

pot-valiant soldiers, who boast, in their cups, that each of them can beat three of the stoutest Frenchmen. Again;—"Isengrin the wolf, to expiate his sins, became a monk. His brethren endeavoured to teach him his letters, that he might say *Pater noster*; but all that they were able to get from him was, 'lamb, lamb.' They told him to look up to the cross, but could never make him turn his eyes from the sheep. In like manner do the monks cry out for good wine, and fix their eyes on dainty viands and full trenchers; whence the English proverb, *If alle that the wolf unto the prest worthe and be sette on to boke salmes to ler, 3it is ever hys onne eye to the wodeward*^m." To conclude with one more, "The wolf being dead, the lion assembled the rest of the beasts to celebrate his obsequies. The hare carried the holy water, and the hedge-hogs the wax tapers. The goats tolled the bells; the badger dug the grave; the fox carried the coffin;

^m That is, "Though the wolf come to the priest, and be set to his book to learn psalms, yet is one of his eyes ever turned towards the wood." A similar fable is among those composed by Marie de France in the twelfth century. A curate having tamed a wolf, undertook to teach him to read. "Now," says he to the scholar, "repeat after me, A." The wolf articulated A. "Good," says the curate; "now

Berengarius the bear celebrated mass ; the ox read the gospels, and the ass the epistles. Mass being finished, and Isengrin duly buried, the beasts partook of a splendid feast, the expense of which was defrayed out of the deceased's property. The parties wished for nothing better than a similar ceremony. So, says the moral, on the death of any rich usurer, the abbots assemble all the *beasts* of the monastery ; for in general, the black and white monks are really brutes, that is, lions in pride ; foxes in cunning ; hogs in gluttony ; goats in luxury ; asses in sloth, and hares in cowardice."

Besides the storehouses of this sort of knowledge that have been already described, there were doubtless many others that are now lost ; but there is one that ought not to be passed over without some notice. It is the *Summa prædicantium* of John Bromyard, an English preacher, and a

say B." The wolf cried " bee, bee ;" but thinking he heard the bleating of the sheep, away he ran to the fold." This apologue is probably from the East. See the story of *Bohetzad and his ten vizirs* in the continuation of the Arabian nights' entertainments. The other seems to have been borrowed from the celebrated and interesting romance of Reynard the Fox, evidently composed long before the twelfth century.

348 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

violent opponent of Wicliffe. It is an immense repertory of matter for the use of the clergy, every page containing stories and examples in all possible varietyⁿ. It is divided into classes of such subjects as were adapted to the pulpit, and must have been a work of immense labour, and the result of much reading. In the article *rapina* he has a story resembling chap. viii. of the *Gesta Romanorum*, which he probably cites under the title of *Antiqua gesta*.

Although most of these works were undoubtedly composed for the immediate purpose of assisting the preachers, it by no means follows that they were exclusively so, or that other uses might not be made of some of them. Not that they could be accessible to the laity in any great degree, inasmuch as they were wrapped up in a learned language. But the private readings of the monks would not be always of a serious and ascetic nature. They might be disposed occasionally to recreate their minds with subjects of a lighter and more amusing nature; and what could be more innocent or delightful than the stories of the *Gesta Romanorum*? They might

ⁿ Printed at Nuremberg, 1485. Paris, 1500. Basil, sine anno, in folio.

even have indulged in this kind of recreation during their continuance in the refectory after meals. For this purpose one of the fraternity, more eminently qualified than the rest, might entertain them with the recital of matters that would admit of some moral application to be made by the reader, or which was already attached to the subject. The word *carissimi*, so frequently to be found in the moralizations, seems as much adapted to this purpose, as to the addressing of an auditory from the pulpit. Perhaps the same idea had occurred to him who chose to apply the term *liber monasticus* to the *Gesta Romanorum*°.

The excellent analytical account that has been given of this work would admit of no other improvement than some augmentation of the sources of the stories, and of their several imitations; but with respect to the author of it some further inquiry may be necessary. Mr. Warton has attempted to show, with considerable ingenuity as well as plausibility, that the *Gesta Romanorum* was composed by Peter Bercheur, a native of Poitou, and prior of the convent of Saint Eloy at Paris, where he died in 1362 P.

° Michael Neander, apud Schellhorn. *Amœnit. ecclesiast.* i. 798.

▷ *Diss. on the Gesta Romanorum*, p. lxxxvi.

350 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

He has founded this opinion on a passage in the *Philologia sacra* of Salomon Glassius, who, in his chapter *de allegoriis fabularum*, after censuring those writers who not only employed themselves in allegorizing the scriptures, but affected to discover in profane stories and poetical fictions certain matters that seemed to illustrate the mysteries of the Christian faith, makes the following observation. “Hoc in studio excelluit quidam Petrus Berchorius Pictaviensis, ordinis Divi Benedicti: qui *peculiari* libro, *Gesta Romanorum*, necnon legendas patrum, aliasque aniles fabulas, allegoricè ac mysticè exposuit.” On this single testimony, or rather assertion, which is unaccompanied by any proof or reference to authority, Mr. Warton proceeds to assign *his* reasons for concluding that Bercheur was the author of the *Gesta*, and they are principally these: 1. A general coincidence between the manner and execution of the works of Bercheur and the *Gesta*. 2. A resemblance in their titles. 3. The introduction of some of the stories of the *Gesta* into the *Repertorium morale* of Bercheur⁴.

⁴ The *Repertorium* or *Reductorium morale* is an extraordinary performance for the time in which it was composed. It contains a system of natural history that may be consulted with advantage, even by modern students; but it is obscured by unlimited credulity and the grossest absurdities, which

4. His having allegorized the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid; and 5. His writings being full of allusions to the Roman history. To these might have been added the quotations common to both the *Gesta* and the *Repertorium* from Pliny, Seneca, Solinus, and Gervase of Tilbury, and the time in which Berchorius lived, which certainly corresponds with that of the composition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, as far as can be collected from internal evidence. It may be remarked in this place, that Mr. Tyrwhitt, in supposing it to have been written at the end of the 12th, or the beginning of the 13th century, has fixed on too early a date^r. It could not have been written before 1256, because the chronicle of Albertus, which is cited in one of the chapters, terminates with that year.

It might be supposed that very little could be urged in opposition to the foregoing reasons, nor is it here intended to deny absolutely that Ber-

may nevertheless have their use in exhibiting the folly of learning when unaccompanied by judgment. The good monk is even occasionally witty, but without design. In speaking of the noise which frogs make, he compares them to the lawyers, "Tales sunt cauidici et advocati quod vero isti sunt clamosi, quia clamando litigant ad invicem."

^r *Canterbury tales*, iv. 331.

352 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

cheur was the author of the *Gesta*; but certain doubts having arisen on the subject, they shall be submitted to the reader, that he may then be enabled to use his own judgment and discretion in deciding the question. With respect to the similitude between the works of Berchorius and the *Gesta Romanorum* no one would think of maintaining, on this ground alone, that any two compositions, the one anonymous, were written by the same author. It shows, generally speaking, nothing more than coincidence, or, what is more likely, simple imitation; and it is as probable that the author of one of the works should have imitated the other, as that one person should have written both. Perhaps the other reasons might be disposed of in the same way, but it will be better to state specific objections to them; and here Mr. Warton's own evidence might be turned against himself. He had stated on a former occasion*, his having seen a manuscript of the *Gesta* in almost Saxon characters; but it is certain that this manuscript had doubly deceived him, and that his eye had caught one or two of the Saxon letters which continued to be used in writing long after Saxon times.

* Vol. ii. p. 14.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 359

In the preface to the *Repertorium morale* Bercheur tells us that he was by birth a Frenchman, a Benedictine monk, and the familiar servant of Cardinal de Pratis, or Des Prez, to whom he was indebted for books and other necessities towards the completion of his works. Now throughout the ponderous tomes that have been consulted for this purpose, there are no Gallicisms to be traced, nor any other symptom of French authorship. On the other hand, there are strong marks that the *Gesta Romanorum* was composed by a German. In the moralization to chapter 144, there is, in most of the early editions, a German proverb; and, in chapter 142, several German names of dogs. Many of the stories are extracted from German authors, as Cæsar, Albert of Stade, and Gervase of Tilbury, who wrote his book *De otiiis imperialibus*, in Germany. In this country likewise the earliest editions of the *Gesta* were printed.

Mr. Warton, anticipating an objection that might be taken from the omission of any mention of the *Gesta* by the biographers of Bercheur, has remarked, that it might have been among his smaller pieces, or proscribed by graver writers, or even discarded by its author as a juvenile performance, unsuitable to his character and abound-

354 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

ing in fantastic and unedifying narration. But this description does not accord with the *general* use that we know to have been made of it in the pulpit ; nor can it come under the denomination of a work that is not altogether grave, serious, and moral, nor likely to have been the effusion of a glowing or youthful mind. Besides, the biographers of Bercheur are not alone silent as to the *Gesta* ; the editors of his printed works were entirely unacquainted with it as his composition, and they were more likely to have been better informed on the subject than Glassius, whose opinion, like Mr. Warton's, seems to have been mere inference, and unsupported by any evidence. But what is more to the point, Bercheur has himself in the prologue to his *Repertorium*, and in the preface to a French translation of Livy, given a very particular account of his works, among which his moralizations of the *Fabulæ poetarum*, never printed, are mentioned ; yet this is certainly not the *Gesta Romanorum*, any more than the *Chronicon* mentioned by Mr. Warton¹. Again ; most of the known works of Bercheur are still existing in manuscript, but not a single manuscript that can be pronounced

¹ *Diss. on the Gesta Romanorum*, p. xc.

to be the *Gesta Romanorum* in question has occurred after the most diligent research. Such indeed might be supplied from the libraries in Germany, and possibly throw new light on this difficult and mysterious inquiry. Some stress has been laid on the circumstance of four of the stories in the *Gesta* being related in the *Reperitorium morale*^u, but they are not told in the same words, and the moralizations are entirely different. This has very much the appearance of different authorship. The title of *Reductorium* to some of the editions of the *Gesta*, together with many other matters, might have been borrowed from the writings of Bercheur by some German monk, whose name has been irretrievably consigned to oblivion. It is scarcely worth while to mention the blunder that Foppens has committed in ascribing the composition instead of the printing of the *Gesta*, to Gerard De Leeu, of Gouda in Holland^w.

It remains to offer some account of the various forms in which this once popular and celebrated work has appeared; and the rather, because what has been said on this subject is, widely scattered, unconnected, and frequently erroneous.

^u Ubi *supr.* p. lxxxviii.

^w *Biblioth. Belgic.* i. 353.

356 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

MANUSCRIPTS.—It is a fact as remarkable as the obscurity which exists concerning the author of the *Gesta*, that no manuscript of this work, that can with certainty be pronounced as such, has been hitherto described. If the vast stores of manuscripts that are contained in the monastic and other libraries of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain, were examined, there is scarcely a doubt that some original of a work so often printed would be discovered. Father Montfaucon has indeed mentioned a manuscript *Gesta Romanorum* in the Vatican^x; but it may be either a transcript from the printed copy, or a different work under the same title, that will presently be noticed.

PRINTED EDITIONS.—The titles of these are different, and are as follows :

- No. 1. "Incipiunt hystorie collecte ex gestis romanorum et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem."
The colophon. "Et sic est finis."
- No. 2. "Incipiunt historie notabiles atque magis principales collecte ex gestis romanorum et quibusdam aliis notabilibus gestis cum moralizationibus eorundem."
The colophon. "Et sic est finis."

^x: *Biblioth. MSS.* tom. i. p. 17. No. 172.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 357

No. 3. "Ex gestis romanorum hystorie notabiles de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicacionibus moralisatis et mysticis incipiunt feliciter."

The colophon. "Gesta romanorum cum quibus aliis historiis eisdem annexis ad moralitates dilucide reducta hic finem habent. Que diligenter correctis aliorum viciis impressit Johannes de Westphalia &c."

No. 4. "Recollectorium ex gestis romanorum cum pluribus applicatis historiis."

No. 5. "Ex gestis romanorum hystorie notabiles collecte de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicacionibus moralisatis et mysticis incipiunt *fideliter*." (sometimes *feliciter*.)

The colophon. "Ex gestis Romanorum cum pluribus applicatis hystoriis de virtutibus et viciis mystice ad intellectum transumptis recollectorii finis."

It is impossible to speak with certainty as to the *first edition*, on account of the omission of dates, places, and printers' names in some of the early copies. There are two editions so circumstanced, with the titles No. 1 and 2, in folio, and containing 152 chapters only. There is a third printed without date, by Nicolas Ketelaer and Gerard de Leempt at Utrecht, in folio, with 152 chapters, to which Lambinet has inaccurately assigned the date of 1473^y. One of these three is probably the first edition. They are all exces-

^y *Recherches sur l'origine de l'imprimerie*. Bruxelles, an vii. 8vo, p. 246.

358 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

sively rare, and a copy containing 152 chapters only would not easily be found in this country.

Of the editions without date, place, or printer, that contain 181 chapters, there are three, and perhaps more. One of these, in folio, is in the British museum, but imperfect. It was certainly printed with the types used by Ulric Zell, about 1475. Two others, the one in folio, the other in quarto, were printed without date at Louvain, by John of Westphalia. He is said to have printed one edition with the date 1473; but this is probably a mistake copied from one book into another, as Lambinet assures us that the copy in the royal library at Paris has the above date, but in *manuscript only*². The following editions with dates can be spoken of with more confidence.

1. 1480, no place, nor printer. In folio.
2. 1480, at Gouda, by Gerard Leeu. In folio.
3. 1481, at Hasselt, no printer. In folio.
4. 1482, no place, nor printer. In quarto. This is doubtful, being taken from a bookseller's catalogue.
5. 1488, no place, nor printer. In folio.
6. 1489, no place, nor printer. In folio.
7. 1489, at Strasburg, no printer. In folio.
8. 1490, at Gouda, by Gerard Leeu. In folio.
9. 1493, no place, nor printer. In folio.
10. 1494, no place, nor printer. In quarto.

² *Recherches &c.* p. 205.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 359.

11. 1494, at Louvain, no printer.
12. 1497, no place, nor printer. In quarto.
13. 1497, at Strasburg, by John Knoblouch. In quarto.
14. 1498, no place, nor printer. In folio.
15. 1499, no place, nor printer. In folio.
16. 1499, at Paris, no printer. In quarto.
17. 1506, at Paris, by Jean Petit. In 12mo.
18. 1508, at Hagenau, by Henry Gran. In folio.
19. 1509, at Paris, by Francois Regnault. In 12mo.
20. 1512, at Venice, no printer. In 12mo.
21. 1515, at Paris, by Jean Petit. In 12mo.
22. 1516, at Venice, by George de Rusconibus. In 8vo.
23. 1517, at Paris, no printer. In 12mo.
24. 1517, at Hagenau, by Henry Gran. In folio.
25. 1520, at Venice, by A. de Bindonis. In 8vo.
26. 1521, at Paris, by Jean Petit. In 12mo.
27. 1521, at Rouen.
28. 1555, at Lyons, no printer. In 12mo.

GERMAN TRANSLATION.—Of this only one edition has occurred, printed at Augsburg, by John Schopser, 1489, in folio.

DUTCH TRANSLATION.—Two editions are mentioned, the one printed at Gouda, by Gerard Leeu, 1481, and the other at Zwollis, by Peter Van Os, 1484; both in folio.

FRENCH TRANSLATION.—It does not appear who was the author of the translation into this

360 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

language, which is entitled *Le violier* des histoires Rommaines : moralisez sur les nobles gestes faitz vertueulx et anciennes chroniques de toutes nations de gens, fort recreatif et moral*. It contains only one hundred and forty-nine stories. About the year 1516, Pierre Gringore, herald to the duke of Lorraine, and the author of several moralities and other works, published a book called *Les fantasies de mere sote*, which is only a translation in prose, intermixed with verse, of some twenty or thirty stories in the *Gesta Romanorum*, with their moralizations. He has suppressed all mention of his original, and insinuated in the privilege that he was himself the inventor. This work seems to have preceded the anonymous translation above mentioned, of which it is possible that Gringore might have likewise been the author. There is another French *Gestes Romaines* by Gaguin the historian, which has been mistaken for a translation of the *Gesta*; but it is nothing more than an extract from the history of the Roman republic. The editions of the *Violier* are, 1. without date, printed at Paris by Philip Le Noir, in quarto. 2. 1521, printed

* An obsolete word that signifies a flower-pot.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 361

at Paris, by Jean de la Garde, in folio, and, 8. 1529, printed also at Paris for Denis Janot, in quarto.

· ENGLISH TRANSLATION.—In 1703 was published a little volume entitled, *Gesta Romanorum: or Forty-five histories originally (as 't is said) collected from the Roman records, with applications or morals for the suppressing vice, and encouraging virtue and the love of God. Vol. I newly and with care translated from the Latin edition, printed, A. D. M.D.XIV.* This seems to be the first English translation, and the translator B. P. has remarked in his preface that most of the matters contained in his book had, as he understood, appeared already in the English tongue; and therefore he desires the reader, if he should discover a great difference in names, sense, and expression, to compare each work with the Latin copy, by which comparison he conceives it will be found that *his translation is faithful.* He was not aware that the preceding translation to which he alludes had been made from a different work. The stories are here extracted without attention to the original arrangement, but with a reference in each to the Latin copy. The editor, whoever he was, designed an

362 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

extension of his labours to other volumes. Next followed an edition of the same work, without date, 18mo, but printed about 1720. It wants the references to the Latin copy, and the former preface is abridged. It contains fourteen additional stories that do not belong to the *original Gesta*. Of this another edition, with the language much altered, was printed in 1722, 18mo, with the same number of stories. The editor signs himself A. B. perhaps Bettesworth the printer.

It is now time to proceed to the description of *another Gesta Romanorum*, and which has indeed been the principal cause of the present dissertation. This work was undoubtedly composed in England in imitation of the other; and therefore it will be necessary for the future to distinguish the two works by the respective appellations of the *original* and the *English Gesta*.

It is remarkable that neither Mr. Tyrwhitt nor Mr. Warton, both of whom had frequent occasion to inspect the work in question, and to notice certain variations between what they have too loosely termed the *printed copies* and the *manuscripts*, should not have perceived that the

latter were in reality a different performance. Mr. Tyrwhitt indeed, for want of this perception, has made use of certain English features in the manuscripts as an argument to prove that the *original Gesta* was composed in England^b.

From the great celebrity of the *original Gesta*, it could not fail of being known to the English clergy, and accordingly we find that it was used by them in the pulpit as in other countries. If the numerous volumes of the sermons of the middle ages that still remain in our college and cathedral libraries were examined, a task by no means here recommended, it would, no doubt, be found, that they had been indebted to it among other similar authorities for many of their *examples*; and to show that this is not a mere conjecture, there is a collection of ancient sermons in the British museum that affords a solitary instance of the introduction of a story from the *original Gesta*^c. It is the thirty-ninth story, of two brothers at enmity with each other. Though anonymous, there is no doubt that these sermons were composed by some Englishman, who has cited a multitude of authors, and among other

^b *Cant. tales*, IV. 331: ^c MS. Harl. 5396.

364 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

matters the well-known story of the Jew who refused to be delivered from a jakes into which he had fallen on the sabbath day.

It is natural to suppose that a work like the *original Gesta* would stimulate some person to the compilation of one that should emulate if not altogether supersede it; and accordingly this design was accomplished at a very early period by some Englishman, in all probability a monk. There is a considerable difficulty even in forming a conjecture as to the precise time in which this was done. One of the earliest manuscripts appears to have been written about the reign of Richard the Second, nor is there any internal evidence in this work that places its composition below that period. That its purpose was similar to that of the other is manifest from its being quoted no less than five times in a collection of sermons by a preacher at Magdalen college already mentioned, who has likewise introduced the moralizations generally in the very words of his original. If additional proofs were wanting of the English origin of the work before us, it might be stated, 1. That no manuscript of it appears to exist in any of the catalogues of continental libraries; whereas there are many in those

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 365

of this country^d. 2. That in one of the chapters there are some English verses^e, and in another some English proper names^f. 3. That it has a few English terms and modes of speech, as *parliament*, *livery of seizin*, &c.

The construction resembles that of the *original Gesta*, from which a great many stories have been retained; but these are always newly written; and sometimes materially altered. The moralizations are uniformly different, and the proper names generally changed. The best manuscripts contain one hundred and two stories, out of which there are upwards of forty that are not in the original work, none of which have been ever printed in the *Latin* of this *Gesta*, and but few of them in an English translation. The sources from which many of them were taken cannot easily be traced, whilst others are extracted from works that will hereafter be mentioned.

In the following analysis of the additional stories to this *Gesta*, the plan of Mr. Warton has

^d There may perhaps be one exception in the Vatican MS. mentioned before in p. 356.

^e MS. Harl. 2270, chap. 53.

^f MS. Harl. 5259, chap. 29; but in most of the MSS. they are omitted.

366 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

been adopted. Though it should fail in exciting much pleasurable sensation in the reader, it may at least serve to throw a ray or two of light on the manners of the middle ages. The arrangement of the chapters is from MS. Harl. 2270, but the copy used is one of equal value in the author's possession. The variety in these is very inconsiderable.

CHAP. I.—The emperor Anselmus bore a silver shield with five red roses. He had three sons equally beloved by him. His continual wars with the king of Egypt had reduced him so low, that of all his temporal goods only a single tree remained. Being mortally wounded in one of his battles, he called his sons before him, and bequeathed to the eldest all that was under the earth and above the earth belonging to the tree; to the second, all that was great and small in it; and to the youngest, all that was wet and dry in it. On the king's death a dispute arose between his sons concerning the possession of the tree, which by mutual consent was referred for decision to the king of Reason. He caused all the young men to be bled, and ordered that a bone, taken from the breast of their dead father, should be dipped in the blood and afterwards washed. The blood of the two elder sons was easily dis-

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 367

charged, but that of the youngest remained. The king declared that he was of the true blood and nature of the bone, and the others bastards; to him therefore the tree was adjudged.

CHAP. II.—The emperor Diocletian, desirous to know what bird had the greatest affection for its young, goes into a wood and returns to his palace with an ostrich's nest, which he places under a glass vessel. The dam follows him, and finding it impossible to get at her offspring, proceeds, to a desert where she remains thirty-four days, and then comes home with a worm called Thurnar; this she kills on the vessel, which being broken by the blood of the animal, her young ones are set at liberty. At this conduct of the bird Diocletian expresses much pleasure.

CHAP. IV.—The emperor Gauterus, reflecting on the vanities of the world, resolves to find a situation where there is nothing but happiness. He leaves his kingdom, and meets a beautiful woman who had lost her husband. She offers him marriage, and abundance of wealth; but on inspecting the nuptial chamber, the emperor is startled and disgusted at the appearance of several serpents and a lion that threaten him with destruction. The lady informs him that he may

368 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

possibly survive a night or two, but that the animals will afterwards devour him, as they had her husband. The emperor declines the honour of this marriage, and proceeds to another country, where the nobles are desirous to elect him king in the room of their deceased monarch; but finding a bed-chamber like the former, he instantly departs, and arrives at a third place, where he is offered the kingdom on similar terms. At length he meets an old man, sitting near a ladder with three steps raised against a wall. He is interrogated as to his wishes, and answers that he sought three things, viz. joy without sorrow, abundance without want, and light without darkness. He is desired to ascend the ladder, when he finds what he had wished for, and continues on the spot during the rest of his life. This is, in substance, the 101st story in the other *Gesta*, but here related with much variety.

CHAP. XVIII.—A knight falls in love with Aglae, the daughter of the emperor Potentius, and being obliged to be absent in the holy land for seven years, the lady agrees not to marry till his return. In the mean time the emperor promises his daughter to the king of Hungary, who being deeply in love with her, consents, at her

request, to postpone the marriage. On the day before the appointed time, the king of Hungary, riding to the emperor's court in great pomp to celebrate his nuptials, is met by the knight, with whom he enters into conversation, and a violent rain coming on, the king's fine clothes are presently spoiled. The knight remarks that he should have brought his house with him. The king is struck with the singularity of the admonition. They arrive at a deep water, and the king, plunging in with his horse, is nearly drowned. The knight tells him that he should have brought his bridge with him; Shortly after the king enquires what time of day it is; his companion replies that it is time to eat, and offers a cake, which is accepted. He then observes to the king that he had acted unwisely in omitting to bring his father and mother with him. As they approach the emperor's palace, the knight requests leave of the king to take another road, meaning to get to the court by a nearer way that was known to him, and carry off the lady before the king should arrive. On being asked what road he intended to take, he declares that he will speak the truth. He says, that on that day seven years he had spread a net in a certain place to which he was then going; that if he should find it broken he shall leave it,

370 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

but if whole, that he shall take it with him. The king arrives at the palace, and is kindly entertained. The emperor interrogates him concerning the particulars of his journey, and on hearing the strange observations that the knight had made, commends him as a wise man, and informs the king that by the house, he had meant nothing more than a cloak; that the bridge he talked of, signified the attendants who should have been sent before to ascertain the depth of the water; and that by the king's father and mother, he intimated the bread and wine that he should have brought with him. But when the emperor came to reflect on the meaning of the net which had been spread seven years since, he perceived that his daughter was in danger, and on commanding her chamber to be examined, found his suspicions verified. The king being deceived by the knight and the damsel, returned in disgrace to his own country.

CHAP. XXI.—This is the story of king Lear under the name of Theodosius emperor of Rome. It has been already given from the old English translation in manuscript. See the present vol. page 172.

CHAP. XXIV.—Antonius made a law at Rome,

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 371

that whenever a fire happened in the city a sentinel should cry out to the people to ring all the bells, and secure the gates. A certain warrior was desirous of becoming master of the city, and, apprised of this law, consulted with his companions how it should be evaded. One advised that they should enter the city peaceably, and proclaim a general feast, at which a certain liquor should be used that would set all the guests asleep. The stratagem is adopted, the city fired, the inhabitants carried off, and not one person left to comply with the emperor's edict.

CHAP. XXV.—A certain knight is unjustly accused before an emperor, who, when he finds that the accusation cannot be maintained, endeavours to perplex him with intricate questions, which he is obliged to answer on pain of death. Among these are, the distance of a sigh from the heart? the number of flaggons of salt water in the sea? the depth of it? which are the most honourable and poorest professions, &c.? These are all answered satisfactorily, and the knight dismissed with commendation.

CHAP. XXVI.—A sick emperor sends into a foreign country for the physician Averrhoes, who cures him of his disease. This excites the

372 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

envy of three other physicians, and they resolve to effect his ruin. For this purpose they deceive him into a belief that he is become leprous, and he returns with great sorrow to the emperor, to acquaint him with his misfortune. Being offered all the consolation that the emperor can afford him, he requests that he may have the use of a bath made of goat's blood. By this remedy he is restored to health; and the emperor, wondering at the suddenness with which he had been attacked, is informed by Averrhoes that three leprous persons of his own profession had terrified him, and thereby communicated their disease. They are immediately punished with death.

CHAP. XXVII.—Antony, emperor of Rome, is fond of chess. Playing once at this game, he observed that when the men were replaced as usual in the bag the king was indiscriminately confounded with the rest of the pieces. This suggests to him his mortal state, and that he himself shall be eventually blended with others in the grave. He divides his kingdom into three parts; one he gives to the king of Jerusalem, another to his nobles, and the third to the poor. He then retires to the Holy Land to end his days in peace.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 373

CHAP. XXX.—The emperor Averrhoes proclaims a tournament, and that the conqueror shall marry his daughter after his decease. Decius, a knight who excelled in arms, had two infant sons. Hearing of the proclamation, he goes one morning into a forest where a nightingale was singing very sweetly. He expresses a wish to know the meaning of the song, and an old man, suddenly appearing to him, explains it. The bird had directed him to go to the tournament, but in his way thither he is to meet with some heavy misfortune, which he is recommended to support with constancy and patience, because, eventually, his sorrow is to be turned to joy. The old man then disappears, and the nightingale flies away. Decius returns home and acquaints his wife with the adventure. She advises him to go to the tournament with herself and children; and he had no sooner finished the preparations for his journey, than his house and all his goods are consumed by fire. Not discouraged, he embarks on board a vessel, and on his arrival in the country to which he was going, the captain of the ship demands the price of his passage. The knight confesses his present inability to comply with the requisition, but promises on his return from the tournament to satisfy him fully.

374 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

The captain, who had in the mean time conceived an improper passion for the lady, demands her as an hostage, refusing an offer of the children. The poor knight, finding no remedy, affectionately takes leave of his wife and departs in great sorrow with his children: The mariner in vain attempts the accomplishment of his purpose with the lady, and after having accompanied her to some strange country, dies. She is reduced to great misery and obliged to beg her bread from door to door. The story then returns to the knight, who, proceeding in his journey to the emperor's palace, meets with a deep piece of water, which it was necessary to cross. Not being able to carry over both the children together, he leaves one of them on the ground. On his return for his child, a lion springs from a wood, seizes the infant before he could arrive at the spot, and carries it away. He endeavours in vain to pursue the ravisher, and at length goes back to his other child. But here again his ill fortune attends him; a bear had seized it, and was in the act of carrying it to a neighbouring forest. He now gives way to his grief, and exclaims bitterly against the nightingale and her song, but resolves to proceed to the tournament. Here he has better luck, and repeatedly carries away the prize. The

emperor takes him into great favour, and places him at the head of his armies. Walking one day through a certain city, he finds a precious stone of three colours. On carrying it to a lapidary, he is informed that he possesses a great treasure; that the stone has the power of making the owner completely happy, of enabling him to find what he might have lost, and of converting his poverty into wealth, and his sorrows into joy. Soon afterwards he has occasion to raise troops for the emperor's service, and in the course of the war two young soldiers eminently distinguish themselves by their valour. As they are sitting one night at supper, they make enquiries of each other respecting their parents; and from certain matters that are detailed, they are recognized by their mother, who happens to be present. This discovery soon leads to that of their father, who is known by his wife, from a particular mark in his forehead. All the parties return to their own country, and end their days happily.

The burning of the knight's house, and the manner in which he was deprived of his children, have been borrowed from the romance of *Sir Isumbrass*^a.

^a See Mr. Ellis's *Metrical romances*, vol. iii. pp. 155, 157.

576 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

CHAP. XXXI.—A law was made at Rome that the sentinels of the city should each night examine what was passing in all the houses, so that no private murders might be committed, nor any thing done whereby the city should be endangered. It happened that an old knight named Josias had married a young and beautiful woman, who, by the sweetness of her singing, attracted many persons to his house, several of whom came for the purpose of making love to her. Among these were three young men who were high in the emperor's favour. They respectively agreed with the woman for a private assignation, for which she was to receive twenty marks. She discloses the matter to her husband, but not choosing to give up the money, prevails on him to consent to the murder of the gallants, and the robbing of their persons. This is accomplished, and the bodies deposited in a cellar. The woman, mindful of the new law that had been made, sends for one of the sentinels, who was her brother, pretends that her husband had killed a man in a quarrel, and prevails on him, for a reward, to dispose of the dead body. She then delivers to him the first of the young men, whom he puts into a sack and throws into the sea. On his return to the sister, she pretends to go into

the cellar to draw wine, and cries out for help. When the sentinel comes to her, she tells him that the dead man is returned. At this he of course expresses much surprise, but putting the second body into his sack ties a stone round its neck and plunges it into the sea. Returning once more, the woman, with additional arts, plays the same part again. Again he is deceived, and taking away the third body, carries it into a forest, makes a fire, and consumes it. During this operation he has occasion to retire, and in the mean time a knight on horseback, who was going to a tournament, passes by, and alights to warm himself at the fire. On the other's return the knight is mistaken for the dead man, and with many bitter words thrown into the fire, horse and all. The sentinel goes back to his sister, and receives the stipulated reward. A hue and cry had now been made after the young men who were missing. The husband and wife engage in a quarrel, and the murder is of course discovered.

This story has been immediately taken from *The seven wise masters*, where it forms the example of the sixth master. The ground-work is, no doubt, oriental, and may be found, perhaps in its most ancient form, in *The little hunchbacked taylor of The Arabian nights*. It

378 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

was imported into Europe very early, and fell into the hands of the lively and entertaining French minstrels, who have treated it in various ways, as may be seen in Le Grand, *Fabliaux et contes*, tom. iv., where it is related five times. The several imitations of it from *The seven wise masters* may be found in all the editions of *Prince Erastus*, an Italian modification of the *Wise masters*. It forms the substance of a well constructed and entertaining story of two friars, John and Richard, who are said to have resided at Norwich in the reign of Henry the Fifth. This is related in Heywood's *History of women* under the title of *The faire ladie of Norwich*^b, and has crept into Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* in a very extraordinary manner, unaccompanied with any comment, but with the addition of the murderer's name, who is unaccountably stated to be Sir Thomas Erpingham, a well known character^c.

^b P. 253, folio edit.

^c Vol. iii. p. 647. Mr. Gough speaks of it as separately printed. *Brit. Topogr.* ii. 27. It is also copied in Burton's *Unparalleled varieties*, p. 159*, edit. 1699, 12mo, and *The gentleman's magazine*, vol. i. p. 310. It has been twice versified: 1 anonymously, under the title of *A hue and cry after the priest, or the convent, a tale*, 1749, 8vo; and 2. by Mr. Jodrell under that of *The knight and friars*, 1785, 4to.

In the Bodleian library there is an old English poem entitled, *A merry jest of Dane How munk of Leicestre, and how he was foure times slain and once hanged*. Printed at London by J. Allde, in 4to, without date. This is probably the same story, which has certainly been borrowed from one of those related by the Norman minstrels^d,

CHAP. XXXII.—Folliculus, a knight, was fond of hunting and tournaments. He had an only son, for whom three nurses were provided. Next to this child he loved his falcon and his greyhound. It happened one day that he was called to a tournament, whither his wife and domestics went also, leaving the child in a cradle,

^d The curious reader may also consult the following authorities, where he will find the above story in some shape or other. Fauchet, *Anciens poëtes François*, chap. lxxxix. Barbasan, *Fabliaux et contes*, ii. 125. The first novel of Masuccio. Straparole, *Piacevole notte*, N. v. fab. 3. *Patrañas* di Timoneda, patr. 3. *Comptes du monde aventureux*, 1595, 18mo, compte xxiii. Guellette *Contes Tartares*, in the story of *Les 3 bossus de Damas*. *Histoire des larrons*, tom. i. pp. 2. 239. *Biblioth. amus. et instructive*, tom. ii. p. 14. *Bibl. de Du Verdier et La croix du Maine*, par Juvigny, tom. iv. p. 376. *Pasquil's Jestis, or Mother Bunch's merriments*, p. 51; and Marlow's *Jew of Malta*, in Reed's *Old plays*, vol. viii. p. 366.

the greyhound lying by him, and the falcon on his perch. A serpent that inhabited a hole near the castle, taking advantage of the profound silence that reigned, crept from his habitation, and advanced towards the cradle to devour the child. The falcon, perceiving the danger, fluttered with his wings till he awoke the dog, who instantly attacked the invader, and after a fierce conflict, in which he was sorely wounded, killed him. He then lay down on the ground to lick and heal his wounds. When the nurses returned they found the cradle overturned, the child thrown out, and the ground covered with blood as well as the dog, who they immediately concluded had killed the child. Terrified at the idea of meeting the anger of the parents, they determined to escape, but in their flight fell in with their mistress, to whom they were compelled to relate the supposed murder of the child by the greyhound. The knight soon arrived to hear the sad story, and, maddened with fury, rushed forward to the spot. The poor wounded and faithful animal made an effort to rise, and welcome his master with his accustomed fondness; but the enraged knight received him on the point of his sword, and he fell lifeless to the ground. On examination of the cradle the in-

fant was found alive and unhurt, and the dead serpent lying by him. The knight now perceived what had happened, lamented bitterly over his faithful dog, and blamed himself for having depended too hastily on the words of his wife. Abandoning the profession of arms he broke his lance into three pieces, and vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he spent the rest of his days in peace.

This tale is likewise borrowed by the compiler of the *Gesta*, from the Seven wise masters, and of oriental construction. It is originally in Pilpay's fables, being that of *The Santon and the broken pitcher*.*

* This fable is only to be found in Mons. de Cardonne's translation, book V; Galland's and the English edition having no more than the first 4 books. It occurs also in that exceedingly rare and curious work the *Directorium vite humanæ*, printed in Germany, without date, place, or name of printer, at the end of the fifteenth century; and in its imitation, the *Moral. philosophia* of Doni, part ii. p. 68, in the English translation of which, printed by Denham, 1570, 4to, it has been omitted. It is also in Starkij *Specimen sapientiæ Indorum*, 1697, 12mo, p. 339. The two last works are in fact the fables of Pilpay under different forms, or rather the *Heetopades* of Veeshnu Sarma, the Hindoo fabulist, who appears to be the parent of all.

The same story occurs likewise in the following works.

382 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

There is a very extraordinary tradition in North-Wales of an incident resembling that in our story having happened to prince Llewellyn about the year 1205. He is said to have erected a tomb over his faithful dog, still known in Carnarvonshire by the name of *Cilhart's grave*[†]. This tradition is the subject of an elegant ballad by the honourable Mr. Spencer, privately printed in a single sheet, under the title of *Beth Gélert, or The grave of the greyhound*. At Abergavenny priory church there is said to be the figure of an armed knight with a dog at his feet; and with this person, whoever he was, the story of *Cilhart* has also been connected. But the dog, as well as other animals, is frequently found at the feet of figures on old monuments. On the whole, the subject appears not undeserving of the consideration of Welsh antiquaries. It would be

Le Grand, *Fabliaux et contes*, tom. iii. p. 168. Sansovino, *Cento novelle*, giorn. 9, nov. 1. *Les facétieuses journées*, p. 287. Lestranger's *Æsop*, vol. i. fab. 464, 8vo edition. *Asiatic miscellany*, 12mo, 1787, p. 73, from the *Ayar Danish* of Abulfazel, which seems to have been extracted from, or at least much resembles, the oriental work that forms the seventh chapter in the *Directorium humane vite*.

[†] Jones's *Relics of the Welsh bards*, p. 75, where there is an old Welsh song, or *Englyn* on the subject.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 389

proper however, on any such occasion, to bear in mind the numerous applications of circumstances altogether fabulous to real persons ; one example of which has occurred in the story from the *Gesta* that immediately precedes the present.

It may be thought worth adding that Virgil's *Original Gnat* resembled in its outline, as given by Donatus, the story in the *Gesta*. A shepherd there falls asleep in a marshy spot of ground ; a serpent approaches, and is about to kill him. At this moment a gnat settles on the shepherd's face, stings, and awakens him. He instinctively applies his hand to the wounded part, and crushes the gnat. He soon perceives that he had destroyed his benefactor, and, as the only recompense in his power, erects a tomb to his memory.

CHAP. XXXVI.—A king having educated his three sons under a celebrated philosopher, interrogates each of them as to what kind of a God he should prefer ; for it was the custom of the country that every man should make his own choice on this occasion. The eldest chooses Jupiter for his power, the second Jupiter also for his wisdom, the third Mercury for his piety and mercy. The king recommends a Deity who should unite all these properties, and who is compared to Jesus Christ, &c.

384 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

CHAP. XLVI.—The emperor Alexander made a law that no man should turn a flat-fish on his plate, so as to eat the other side, under pain of death; it being nevertheless permitted him to ask three things before his execution. The son of an offender against this law saves his father's life by his ingenuity, and contrives to marry the emperor's daughter.

CHAP. XLVII.—A law was made that if any child should die, or even be hurt by the negligence of the person to whose care it were committed, such person should suffer death. A knight requested, as a reward for some services, that he might have the care of the king's son. This was accordingly granted, and the child delivered over to nurses. In their absence at a fair, a wolf entered the house and carried off the infant towards a wood. A shepherd gathering fruit in an orchard saw the affair and gave the alarm. The child was recovered, but not till it had received a bite that left a mark in its forehead. When the king had received back his son, he discovered the wound and menaced the knight with the punishment of the law. The knight asserted that he was not a God, nor able to controul the effect of nature. The king maintained that the mark was not natural, but produced by accident; and the knight

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 385

at length confessed the fact and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was only enjoined to do exclusive homage to the king, and taken into favour.

In the moral, God is the maker of the law. He delivers man's soul to him pure and unspotted, to be nourished in deeds of virtue. The ecclesiastics are the nurses, who instead of attending to their duty, frequent the worldly fairs of wickedness and vanity. The wolf is the Devil, who seizes the soul and endeavours to precipitate it into hell; but the good preacher, sitting in the arbour of the holy scriptures, gives the alarm, and delivers it from the clutches of the Devil, &c.

CHAP. XLVIII.—This story has been given from the old English translation in manuscript, at the end of the notes to the Merchant of Venice. See vol. i. p. 281.

CHAP. XLIX.—An emperor made a law that whoever violated a virgin should lose both his eyes. His own son is found guilty of the crime, and the emperor, notwithstanding the entreaties of his nobles, enforces punishment, but consents to divide the loss of sight with the aggressor.

CHAP. L.—This story is in the other *Gesta*, but differently related. A king on some do-

386 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

mestic difference with his wife, had been told by her that one only of his three sons was legitimate; but which of them was so she refused to discover. This gave him much uneasiness; and his death soon afterwards approaching, he called his children together, and declared in the presence of witnesses, that he left a ring which had very singular properties to him that should be found to be his lawful son. On his death a dispute arose between the youths, and it was at length agreed to refer its decision to the king of Jerusalem. He immediately ordered that the dead body of the father should be taken up and tied to a tree; that each of the sons should shoot an arrow at it, and that he who penetrated the deepest should have the ring. The eldest shot first, and the arrow went far into the body; the second shot also, and deeper than the other. The youngest son stood at a distance, and wept bitterly; but the king said to him, "Young man, take your arrow and shoot as your brothers have done." He answered, "Far be it from me to commit so great a crime. I would not for the whole world, disfigure the body of my father." The king said, "Without doubt you are his son, and the others only bastards; to you therefore I adjudge the ring."

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 387

This story has been entitled, *The judgment of Solomon*, and is probably of oriental origin^g. It is often represented in that illumination which in the ancient manuscripts of the French translation of the Bible by Guiars des Moulins is prefixed to the proverbs of Solomon, although the story itself does not occur in that bible, nor in the original commentary by Petrus Comestor. It appears to have been a great favourite in the middle ages, and was often related from the pulpit^h. The original *judgment of Solomon* in the first book of Kings had probably reached the continent of India at some very early period, as it is imitated in the following story which occurs in one of the books belonging to the kingdom of Pegu. Two women went out together to bathe, each accompanied by her child. Whilst they

^g See Le Grand, *Fabliaux et contes*, ii. 426, who quotes the *Tartarian tales* for a similar story.

^h See the *exempla* at the end of the *Sermones discipuli*, ex. ix. de. B. The *Sermones fratris Gulielmi Cartusiensis*, 1494, 12mo, sig. V. 7 b. An ancient collection of Latin sermons in the Harl. coll. No. 5396. See likewise *A christen exhortation unto customable swearers*, at the end of *The christen state of matrimonye*, 1543, 12mo, p. 29, the author of which cites the *Preceptorium Johannis Beets*, a German preacher about 1450; and Burton's *Unparelled varieties*, p. 21.

388 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

were in the water, the children being left on the bank of the river, an alligator seized one of them and carried it away. A dispute arose between the women for the possession of the remaining infant, and they at length agreed to go before the judge. To determine the controversy the judge ordered one of the women to lay hold of the child's head, and the other of its heels, and thus to pull for it. In the course of the struggle, the child was hurt, and cried out; one of the women instantly quitted her hold, and the other carried off the prize. The judge ordered her to be brought back, and told her that as she had manifested so little compassion for the sufferings of the child, she could not possibly be its mother. The infant was restored to the other womanⁱ. There is another ingenious adjudication by the emperor Claudius, scarcely inferior to Solomon's.

ⁱ From *Memorandums in India by John Marshall*, beginning Sep. 11th, 1678, preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British museum, No. 4523. The above person appears to have been a very curious and intelligent traveller, and many of his observations on the manners of the Indians would be exceedingly well worth publishing. Marshall was educated at Cambridge, had a great desire to travel, and by the interest of Lord Craven, went out 1667, in the India ship the Unicorn, in the company's service.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 389

A woman had refused to acknowledge her son ; and, the arguments on each side being doubtful, Claudius ordered that the parties should be married. The mother was compelled to a confession. See Sueton. in Claud. cap. 15.

CHAP. LI.—Archillaus, a Roman emperor of an elegant person and lofty stature, was desirous to have a shirt made by the hands of a pure and spotless virgin, in such a skilful and subtile manner as to prolong the duration of his life. After the strictest search no such virgin could be found; or at least, says the story, no female whose talents were competent to the task. Some time afterwards the emperor walking in his orchard, and meditating on the above matter, was accosted by a certain person who told him that he believed there was one young woman remaining in the country who was in all respects capable of performing what he desired. A messenger was immediately dispatched by the emperor on this pleasing mission, with instructions to salute the lady most honourably on his part, and to present her with a particular piece of cloth three inches only in length and breadth, and to request that she would convert it into the shirt required; with a promise that if she succeeded, she should become his wife. The messenger faithfully exe-

390 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

cuted his instructions ; but when the damsel saw the cloth, she told him that it was impossible with such a quantity to make a shirt that would fit the emperor in the manner required, but undertook notwithstanding to make one according to the best of her ability. When the emperor heard the answer he sent a pure and handsome vessel to the lady, in which she manufactured a shirt that gave him satisfaction. He performed his promise and married her. This very silly and obscure story is allegorized into the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary.

CHAP. LIV.—Is also in the other *Gesta*, but here related with much greater variety of circumstance, and in all respects improved. The story has been very properly termed by Mr. Warton, a beautiful one ; but he has not been equally accurate in his statement that “Occleve has literally followed the book before us (*i. e.* the original *Gesta*,) and has even translated into English prose the moralisation annexed.” Occleve’s immediate model was our English *Gesta* ; nor is it improbable that he might even be the translator of it ; the moralisation also is entirely different^k.

^k The *whole* of Occleve’s poem may be seen in MS. Reg. 17 D. vi. with the moralisation, omitted by Browne, who has otherwise mutilated the poem.

Mr. Warton has omitted to notice that this story corresponds with that of Fortunatus; which, unless itself of oriental origin, might have been taken from it¹.

CHAP. LVI.—An emperor who had only a daughter, hunting one day in a forest, lost his way, and was obliged to seek shelter in the cottage of a forester. He was kindly and hospitably received, and after taking some refreshment, retired to rest without disclosing to the man who he was. As he lay in bed he thought he heard a voice that said to him, “take, take, take;” presently after, another that cried, “give, give, give,” and then a third that still more emphatically pronounced these words, “fly, fly, fly; for this night a child is born who shall succeed to your empire.” When he arose in the morning, he enquired of the forester if any child had been born during the night, who informed him that his wife had just been delivered

¹ One reason for suspecting it might have originated in the East is that it forms the subject of one of the old French *fabliaux*, many of which came in with the Crusades. See Sinner, *Catal. des MSS. de Berne*, iii. 389. It has been likewise imitated by La Harpe in his *Pied de nez*. Some traces of resemblance may be found in the stories of *Ahmed*, and the *enchanted horse* in the Arabian nights entertainments.

392 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

of a son. The emperor then discovered himself, examined a mark on the child's forehead, and told the man that he should send for it the next day, as he designed to have it bred up at his court. On his return home he directed some confidential servants to take away the child from the forester's cottage, to put it to death, and to bring back its heart, that he might be satisfied that his orders were obeyed. A contention arose among the domestics about destroying the infant^m, and one more humane than the rest, proposed the killing of a pig in its stead, and delivering the heart to the king. This was at length acceded to by the others. The child was wrapped up in some linen, and placed in a hollow tree for present shelter. When the emperor received the supposed heart of the child he cast it into the fire, and mocked the idle dreams that had tormented him. Shortly after, as an earl was hunting in the above forest, the dogs discovered the child, which was taken home and committed to the care of the earl's wife, whom he prevailed on to acknowledge it as their own, and to give out that she had just been delivered of it. When thirteen years had elapsed

^m This incident has been introduced into the popular old ballad of *The children in the wood*.

from this time, the emperor proclaimed a great feast, to which, among others, the earl was invited, who carried the boy with him as a squire to attend his person. When the youth came into the presence of the emperor, the latter instantly perceived the mark on his forehead, and in great anger interrogated the earl so strictly that he confessed the manner in which he had discovered the child. But the emperor's indignation was still more excited against the servants whom he had employed. He sent for them and commanded them on their oaths to speak the truth. The emperor, now satisfied of the identity of the youth, informed the earl that he should retain him at his court, and that he himself was at liberty to return home. It happened that at this time the empress was in a foreign kingdom with her daughter. The emperor therefore sent the youth to her with a letter in which he commanded her to cause him to be put to death in the most cruel and ignominious manner. In the prosecution of his journey, the poor young man came to the castle of a knight whom he humbly entreated to afford him lodging; and being hospitably received, laid himself down to sleep, placing near him a box in which he had deposited

394 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

the letter. The knight accidentally seeing the box, became anxious to know its contents; and having opened it immediately perceived the emperor's signet. This he very carefully put aside, and reading the letter, was moved with compassion for the youth. He immediately resolved to save his life, and substituted another letter, in which the king was made to direct the empress to marry her daughter to the young man with great solemnity, and to detain him with her until he should himself arrive. This letter was delivered to the empress, and the supposed directions of the emperor complied with. The youth by his deportment engaged the affections of all. Sometime afterwards the emperor resolved to visit the empress, and on his arrival she went out to meet him accompanied by her children. As soon as the emperor saw the young man, he again recognized him; and, beholding his wife with looks of fury and indignation, he demanded of her why she had omitted to obey his commands. She maintained that they had been obeyed by the marriage of the youth to their daughter, who then stood before him, and, as she perceived, with child. The anger of the emperor was now mitigated, and he exclaimed, "The will of the

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 395

Lord be done, for I see it is in vain to oppose it." He saluted his children with great affection, and they succeeded happily to his throne.

CHAP. LXII.—Cornelius seduces an emperor's daughter, murders her infant, and abandons her. The emperor expostulates to no purpose. He then proclaims a tournament in which the wicked knight is overcome. The princess is brought back to her father.

CHAP. LXVIII.—An emperor in his old age foolishly married a young wife, who carried on an intrigue with a certain knight. He resolved to make a journey to the Holy land, and, setting out immediately, left his kingdom in the custody of the empress and his nobles. The captain of the ship in which he embarked, having received a large bribe for the purpose, threw the unfortunate emperor into the sea, and returned home with the news of his death, to the great joy of the wicked empress. The old monarch, who had been a good swimmer from his youth, fortunately reached an island which he found inhabited only by wild beasts. The third day after his arrival, he saw in a wood a young lion fighting with a strong and full-grown leopard; and compassionating the lion, who was nearly overpowered by

396 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM

his adversary, he drew his sword and killed the leopard. The grateful lion remained with him, and every day brought him as food some animal that he had hunted, which the emperor dressed by means of a fire that he contrived to make. After some time had elapsed, as he was one day walking on the shore, he perceived a ship, and making signals of distress, was taken on board. The faithful lion plunged after him into the sea, and swam by the side of the vessel, till some of the sailors, perceiving that he was exhausted with fatigue and about to sink, lifted him into the ship. On the emperor's arrival in his own kingdom he handsomely rewarded the captain, and proceeded to his palace accompanied by the lion. When he arrived there, he heard the sound of musical instruments, and perceived other demonstrations of joy. On enquiry he learned that the empress had been just married, and that his subjects believed he had perished in his voyage to the Holy Land. He then applied to one of the domestics of the palace to report him to the new emperor as a minstrel newly arrived, and to request that he might be permitted to entertain him with the tricks of his lion. He was ordered to appear before the new sovereign; whom the lion no sooner beheld than he instantly tore him in pieces,

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 397

and immediately afterwards the empress. The nobles, astonished at what they saw, were now preparing to make their escape, when the emperor discovered himself, and desired them to lay aside their fear, as the vengeance of God had been accomplished. After relating his adventures, he reassumed his government.

CHAP. LXX.—Josias, a warlike king, was married to the king of Apulia's daughter, who had vowed she would unite herself to that man only who had obtained the victory in all his battles. Walking one day in his garden he saw it written in a star, that he should undertake as many wars for the love of Christ as he had for that of his lady, to whom he communicated the vision. She was extremely afflicted at the news, and threatened to destroy herself and the infant in her womb, but was comforted by her husband with a promise of returning, as soon as he had conquered all the enemies of Christ. He then departed in company with Tirius, a valiant knight to whom he was attached, and they shortly arrived in Ethiopia. The king desired his friend to remain there, and subdue the country, whilst he should accomplish other conquests. Tirius requested of the king that he would send him occasional tidings of himself, and directions how to act in

398 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

his absence. This was promised ; and the knight received at the same time a ring from his master, as a pledge whereby to remember him. The king took his departure, and went to the Holy Land. In his absence a certain tyrant named Acharon, made war against Tirius ; and finding it impossible to subdue him, accused him of treason to the king of Ethiopia, who deprived him of all his possessions, so that he became very poor and was obliged to beg his bread. Josias soon afterwards returned from the Holy Land to Ethiopia, in the character of a pilgrim, and by chance met Tirius, whom he immediately recognized, but remained himself unknown. He put many questions to his friend who related to him his misfortunes, and added, that he was in daily expectation of the speedy return of his own sovereign, whose token he still preserved, and whom he described as the better half of his soul. Josias told him that he had travelled far on account of the love he also bore to the same person ; that he was exceedingly fatigued, and requested of him to sit down that he might repose his head on his bosom. Tirius answered, that he would do this and much more for him. Whilst Josias was asleep, a white weasel issued from his mouth, and proceeding towards a mountain, walked round it.

It then returned, and again entered the mouth of the king. Tirius wondered much at this, and when the king awoke was interrogated as to what he had seen. Josias, on being informed, said, "Let us go to the mountain, perhaps we may behold more wonders." On their coming to a hollow place in the mountain, they found a dragon lying dead, with a large quantity of gold in his belly, and a sharp sword, on which was inscribed, "By my power, and with the king's assistance, the knight Tirius shall once more possess his lands." Josias then discovered himself to his friend, who fell on the ground and kissed his feet. The king gave all the gold to Tirius, but reserved the sword for himself, and commanded the knight not to disclose who he was until they should have accomplished their purpose. Josias then proceeded in his pilgrim's habit to the king's palace, where he found the tyrant Acharon, and sat himself down before the largest table. The king enquired of him whence he came and what tidings he brought. The pilgrim answered, "I come from the Holy Land, where many persons recommend your soul to Christ for having despoiled a worthy knight of his lands, on the lying accusation of a tyrant." Acharon then exclaimed, "Why hast thou ut-

400 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

tered these things? I would thou wert able to defend thyself, that I might fight with thee." The pilgrim requested leave to accept the challenge, which the king granted, and promised that if he obtained the victory he should not only receive all the lost lands of the knight, but be made the second man in his kingdom. The day of battle was appointed, and the combatants respectively maintained the contest with considerable valour. At length Acharon, exhausted with fatigue, was about to yield, when he said to the pilgrim, "You are doubtless a generous adversary, I die with thirst; suffer me to go once to the river and drink." The pilgrim acquiesced on the like conditions for himself. When Acharon had quenched his thirst, his strength returned; he renewed the combat with vigour, and Josias, in his turn, sorely pressed, requested permission to drink. His treacherous enemy not only refused him, but compelled him to fight his way to the water, into which he plunged and assuaged his thirst. Having recovered his strength, the battle was continued till the evening; and when Acharon was once more about to yield the victory, the king parted the combatants, and appointed the next day to renew the battle. At night the king sent for the pilgrim, commended

his valour, and desired his daughter to take him under her care, and provide him with all necessities, that he might be able to maintain the combat on the following day. The damsel then led him to a chamber; bathed him^m, prepared his supper; and afterwards placed him in a bed with four feet, so that it could be easily moved from place to place. In the mean time Acharon called together his four sons, all of them robust young men; told them of the danger his life would be in if he should renew the contest with the pilgrim on the ensuing day, and prevailed with them to seize him in his chamber whilst he slept, and throw him into the sea. It happened that a fisherman from his vessel perceived by the light of the moon the floating bed, and to his great astonishment a man lying upon it. Josias also awoke, and wondered much at seeing the stars over his head. The fisherman cried out to the king, and the king to him for assistance,

^m This was a common practice in the times of chivalry, and many examples of it may be found in ancient romances. The ladies not only assisted in bathing the knights, after the fatigues of battle, but administered proper medicines to heal their wounds. Similar instances occur in the writings of Homer. In the *Odyssey*, Polycaste, one of the daughters of Nestor, bathes Telemachus; and it appears that Helen herself had performed the like office for Ulysses.

402 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

telling him that he was the person who had the day before been engaged in combat with the tyrant. The fisherman took him on board his vessel, and afterwards to his dwelling, where he was again put to bed. On the morrow Acharon armed himself and went to the palace, exclaiming aloud, "Bring forth the traitor pilgrim, that I may this day present his head to our lord the king." When the princess was ordered by her father to awake the pilgrim, she was astonished to find him gone, together with the bed; and when the king heard the strange news he was much grieved, for he loved the pilgrim, and detested the tyrant. The fisherman at length appeared, and related what had happened. Josias returned to the palace, armed himself, once more attacked his adversary, who was by this time quite dejected, and cutting off his head, presented it to the king. He was then desired to name the reward that he wished for, when he requested that the lands which Tirius had acquired by his valour might be again restored to him. Josias afterwards took leave of his friend, returned to his own kingdom, and ended his days in peace^{m*}.

^{m*} The incident of the weasel in this story is manifestly borrowed from a similar relation in the chronicle of Helinandus, a monk of the twelfth century; from which it is in-

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 403

CHAP. LXXI.—An emperor committed the education of his only son to one of his knights, who had obtained the victory at a tournament. The child was placed in a chamber, round which the seven liberal sciences were depicted, so that when he lay awake in bed he could be gathering all kinds of knowledge. Near the bed was a fountain, in which the child could bathe, and beyond the fountain a window to admit the sun. It happened that a bear, finding the door open, entered the chamber and washed himself in the fountain, so that the water was much infected with his filth. The knight and his wife soon afterwards drank of the fountain, and became leprous. An eagle also flew in at the window, and carried off the king's son. At length a skilful physician was consulted, who cured the parties of their leprosy, and instructed them how to recover the child.

CHAP. LXXII.—A king hears the song of a nightingale. He is desirous of knowing what it means; and, applying to a wise knight, is informed that it directs him to seek three things, viz. joy without sorrow, abundance without want,

serted in Wierus *De præstigiis dæmonum*, lib. i. cap. 14, as an illusion of the devil.

404 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

and light without darkness. The king sets out in pursuit of them, and arrives in a kingdom where the sovereign was just dead, leaving his throne to his sister. She becomes enamoured of the royal traveller and offers him marriage. Here the story is discontinued, but the narrator refers to chap. iv. as containing the same matter.

CHAP. LXXVII.—In the castle of an emperor was a fountain, the water of which had the property of curing drunkenness. To this vice, which the emperor particularly detested, one of his knights, named Ydronicus, was much addicted; but whenever he perceived the consequences of his intemperance, he repaired to the fountain, and drinking a hearty draught, recovered himself in such a manner that the emperor, who was extremely attached to him, had never yet discovered his falling. It happened that the emperor had found a bird in his forest which sang so sweetly, that, being fond of melody, he repaired daily to the spot to hear it. The particular attention which the emperor bestowed on these two favourites had excited the envy of his courtiers, among whom one wiser than the rest at length undertook their ruin. He first sealed up the fountain, so that when Ydronicus next became intoxicated he was deprived of his usual

remedy ; and the emperor, perceiving his condition, was filled with indignation, and instantly decreed his banishment. The insidious courtier then repaired to the forest ; and watching attentively the motions of the bird, perceived that her mate often came to visit her, but that in his absence she committed infidelities with strange birds, and then bathing herself in an adjacent well, deceived her mate on his return. He therefore closed up the well, and the unfaithful bird being soon detected by her mate, he tore her to pieces. The latter part of this story seems borrowed from the last chapter of the original *Gesta*.

CHAP. LXXVIII.—A law was made at Rome, that no man should marry for beauty, but for riches only ; and that no woman should be united to a poor man, unless he should by some means acquire wealth equal to her own. A certain poor knight solicited the hand of a rich lady, but she reminded him of the law, and desired him to use the best means of complying with it, in order to effect their union. He departed in great sorrow, and after much enquiry, was informed of a rich duke who had been blind from the day of his birth. Him he resolved to murder, and obtain his wealth ; but found that he was protected in the day-time by several armed domestics,

and at night by the vigilance of a faithful dog. He contrived however to kill the dog with an arrow, and immediately afterwards the master, with whose money he returned to the lady. He informed her that he had accomplished his purpose ; and being interrogated how this had been done in so short a space of time, he related all that had happened. The lady desired, before the marriage should take place, that he would go to the spot where the duke was buried, lay himself on his tomb, listen to what he might hear, and then report it to her. The knight armed himself, and went accordingly. In the middle of the night he heard a voice saying, " O duke, that liest here, what askest thou that I can do for thee?" The answer was, " O Jesus, thou upright judge, all that I require is vengeance for my blood unjustly spilt." The voice rejoined, " Thirty years from this time thy wish shall be fulfilled." The knight, extremely terrified, returned with the news to the lady. She reflected that thirty years were a long period, and resolved on the marriage. During the whole of the above time the parties remained in perfect happiness.

When the thirty years were nearly elapsed, the knight built a very strong castle, and over

one of the gates, in a conspicuous place, caused the following verses to be written :

“ In my distress, religion's aid I sought ;
But my distress reliev'd, I held it nought.
The wolf was sick, a lamb he seem'd to be ;
But health restor'd, the wolf again we see.”

Interrogated as to the meaning of these enigmatical lines, the knight at once explained them by relating his own story, and added that in eight days time the thirty years would expire. He invited all his friends to a feast at that period ; and when the day was arrived, the guests placed at table, and the minstrels attuning their instruments of music, a beautiful bird flew in at the window and began to sing with uncommon sweetness. The knight listened attentively, and said, “ I fear this bird prognosticates misfortune.” He then took his bow, and shot an arrow into it in the presence of all the company. Instantly the castle divided in two parts, and, with the knight, his wife, and all who were in it, was precipitated to the lowest depth of the infernal regions. The story adds, that on the spot where the castle stood, there is now a spacious lake, on which no substance whatever floats, but is immediately plunged to the bottom.

CHAP. LXXIX.—The emperor Miremius had an only son, on whose birth the wise men being

408 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

consulted as to his future destiny, declared that he would not live except he were brought up for seven years under-ground, where the light of the sun could never come. This was accordingly done; and at the expiration of the time the young prince was taken out of his subterraneous confinement, and became the admiration of all men for his virtues and good disposition. In due time he was married to a daughter of the king of Hungary. At each corner of the nuptial bed was placed a little dog to watch, and near it a burning lamp, which by the emperor's special command was to be lighted only by the hands of a pure virgin. The prince coming one night into the chamber found the lamp extinguished, and made a solemn vow that he would never more enter the bed until the lamp were rekindled; but after many enquiries no virgin could be found for the purpose. The prince determined to make search himself, and taking affectionate leave of his wife, proceeded on his expedition. He presently overtook a lion, whose foot had been wounded by a thorn, which he extracted, and the animal followed him. Arriving at the castle of a king who had a virgin daughter, the prince fell in love with and demanded her in marriage. The king consented, on condition that he would destroy a horrible dragon, who had nearly de-

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 409

valued all the sheep and oxen in the country, and for whose future supply it would soon be necessary to draw lots in the king's own family. The prince agreed to the proposal, and waited till the period arrived when the lot had fallen on the king's daughter. He then became exceedingly terrified, but ventured to attack the dragon, who was on the point of destroying him, when the lion came to his assistance, and speedily killed his adversary. The virgin was delivered to the prince, who took her home to his wife. The lamp was rekindled, to the great joy of the parties, and the virgin treated with all possible kindness and attention. The dog and the lamp in this story are introduced in chap. i. of the other *Gesta*, but the tales have nothing else in common.

CHAP. LXXX.—There was a law at Rome, that every woman at her purification should write some words on the church door, for the edification of the people, and then return home with due solemnity. The empress on this occasion writes, "I am a king governing the age; all the world is mine." Some time afterwards a noble lady attended by several musicians comes to be purified. She inscribes on the door, "I am an infant at the breast, whose milk is wine," and

410 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

returns home to prepare a feast. The empress is much offended and sends for her. She procures two serpents, and compels the lady to suckle them, &c. The substance of this story is incorporated with the old ballad of "A warning piece to England, or the fall of queen Eleanorⁿ."

CHAP. LXXXI.—A city is infested with dragons and other venomous animals that destroy the inhabitants. A philosopher advises the emperor to hang a live lion on a cross, and thus terrify the other creatures from molesting the city.

CHAP. LXXXII.—A law was made, that if any one could escape from prison and fly to the king's palace he should receive protection. An imprisoned knight is visited by a bird, who leaves a precious stone, by the touch of which his fetters are loosed and he escapes, &c.

CHAP. LXXXIV.—A dispute arose between the three sons of an emperor respecting the succession. The nobles decided that they should run a race on horseback, and that he whose horse neighed should inherit the throne. A cun-

ⁿ *Coll. of old ballads*, vol. i. No. xiii.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 411

ning servant of one of the princes contrived that his master should win, by placing in the horse's way a mare that he remembered. This is the well-known story of Darius.

CHAP. XC.—Of a law that whoever violated a virgin without making atonement to her father within a certain time should suffer death.

CHAP. XCII.—Of a madman who tore his flesh every day, and was poisoned by his father.

CHAP. XCIII.—An empress falls in love with a young knight; and becoming extremely sick, the physicians inform her husband that there is no mode of cure, but the bathing her with the knight's blood.

CHAP. XCIV.—A poor man is promoted by an emperor to great honours, but soon becomes proud, and rebels against his sovereign. He is banished with his accomplices. These invite their successors to a poisoned banquet. The emperor is recommended by his son to apply to a damsel who possesses a well with miraculous powers. By means of its water the dead men are restored to life. The prince is rewarded with a crown of gold,

CHAP. XCVII.—Jonathas, having contrived to

412 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

keep fire and water in his house, at a time when his fellow citizens had been plundered of them by a tyrant named Eulopius, is rewarded by having the education of the emperor of Rome's son committed to him. He builds a chamber for the young prince, and causes various images and inscriptions to be placed in it, which keep him attentive to his charge. He is finally promoted to great honour.

CHAP. XCVIII.—The emperor Martin had brought up his nephew Fulgentius as his page and cup-bearer; but his steward soon became envious of the young man, and resolved to effect his ruin. For this purpose he prevailed on the emperor to believe that Fulgentius had ungratefully circulated many ill reports of him, and particularly that he was leprous to such a degree that it was unsafe to approach his person or administer his drink to him. He then went to the young man, related to him that the emperor had made great complaint of the foulness of his breath, and advised him, when he performed the duties of his office, to take special care to turn his head aside. The innocent Fulgentius pursued this insidious counsel, and, the emperor's anger being excited, he struck his nephew violently on the

breast, and drove him from his presence. He then consulted with the steward how he should deprive the youth of life; and it was settled that some men who lived near at hand, and kept a furnace to burn stones for cement, should immediately be directed to throw into their fire, without the least ceremony, that person who should come early on the morrow, and desire them to fulfil the emperor's commands. Measures were then taken that Fulgentius should be the victim; but in his progress to the lime-kiln he was induced by the sound of a church bell to deviate from his road, and attend the celebration of the mass. During the service he fell asleep, and when it was finished no efforts of the priest could for a very considerable time awake him. In the mean while the steward, solicitous to hear of the young man's death, repaired to the spot, and inquiring if the emperor's commands had been executed, was seized by the workmen, who, in spite of all his entreaties and remonstrances, threw him into the furnace. Fulgentius himself soon afterwards arrived, delivered his message, and was surprised to hear of the steward's death, and the miraculous manner in which he himself had escaped. He then returned thanks to God for his preservation, and went back to the palace.

414 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

The emperor in great anger demanded why he had not executed his commands. Fulgentius related what had happened, and this leading to a mutual explanation, he was restored to his uncle's favour, and ended his days honourably. This story may have come from the East°. It is likewise extremely well related in the *Contes devots* or *Miracles of the Virgin*^p, and in other places^q.

CHAP. XCIX.—A marriage was proposed between the son of Anselmus, emperor of Rome, and the daughter of the king of Apulia. The young lady in her voyage was shipwrecked and swallowed by a whale. In this situation she contrived to make a fire and to wound the animal with a knife, so that he was driven towards the shore, and slain by an earl named Pirius, who delivered the princess and took her under his protection. On relating her story she was conveyed to the emperor. In order to prove whether

° See Scott's *Tales from the Arabic and Persian*, p. 53, where there is an excellent story of similar construction.

^p Le Grand, *Fabliaux*, v. 74.

^q *Cento novelle antiche*, nov. 68. *Patrañas de Timoneda*, pat. 17. *Dialogus creaturarum moralizatus*, cap. 120. Minsheu's address to the reader, before his *Spanish grammar*, 1623, Folio.

she was worthy to receive the hand of his son, he placed before her three vessels. The first was of gold, and filled with dead men's bones; on it was this inscription; *who chuses me shall find what he deserves*. The second was of silver filled with earth, and thus inscribed; *who chuses me shall find what nature covets*. The third vessel was of lead, but filled with precious stones. It had this inscription; *who chuses me shall find what God hath placed*. The emperor then commanded her to chuse one of the vessels, informing her that if she made choice of that which should profit herself and others, she would obtain his son; if of what should profit neither herself nor others, she would lose him. The princess after praying to God for assistance, preferred the leaden vessel. The emperor informed her that she had chosen as he wished, and immediately united her with his son. This is obviously the story which had supplied the caskets in the *Merchant of Venice*. See the note at the end of that play, vol. i. p. 276.

CHAP. C.—A king hunting in a forest loses his attendants, and is left alone. He meets a lame lion, who stretches out his foot to him, as if soliciting assistance. The king, perceiving a thorn, extracts it, and binds up the wound with

416 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

certain herbs. Finding no way out of the wood, he is obliged to take shelter in the lion's den, where he is supplied with food by the grateful animal. After remaining here some time a bear comes to the den. The rest of the story will not admit of being told. What has been stated is evidently grafted on the well-known tale of Androcles.

CHAP. CI.—A certain emperor made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving the care of the kingdom in his absence to his wife, a wise and beautiful woman. The emperor's brother not only oppressed and persecuted many of his subjects, but had even the temerity to make unlawful love to the empress. On consulting with her counsellors, they advised her to cast him into prison, which was accordingly done. Here he lay until rumours were spread of the emperor's intended return; and fearing that if his unworthy conduct were reported to his brother he should be sentenced to die, he entreated mercy of the empress, and made such solemn promises of future good behaviour that she consented to release him. On the emperor's arrival, his wife and brother went out to meet him; but in passing through a forest, a stag springing up, diverted the attention of the domestics who accompanied them,

and they were left entirely by themselves. The wicked brother now renewed his solicitations to the empress; but receiving from her the most positive refusal of compliance, and menaced with the vengeance of her husband, he inhumanly tied her by the hair to a tree, leaving her palfrey by the side of her. He then rejoined the attendants, and pretended that a multitude of armed men had attacked him and carried off the empress. Shortly afterwards the unfortunate lady was discovered by an earl who was hunting in the forest, taken home to his castle, and by her own consent, appointed to superintend the care of his infant daughter. Here a certain seneschal fell in love with her, but his addresses being rejected, he determined on speedy revenge. For this purpose he contrived to get into the castle at night, and proceeding to the earl's chamber, found the empress in bed and asleep with the child. After murdering the infant, he placed the bloody knife in the empress's hand. During the night the earl's wife awoke, and perceiving by the light of the lamp what had happened, accused the empress of the murder in the most bitter terms, and entreated her husband to inflict immediate punishment. The earl, however, thought fit to spare the empress's life, and contented himself with dismissing her from his

castle. The poor lady mounted her palfrey, and had not proceeded far, when she met a robber going to execution. Her compassion led her to ransom the man by means of a sum of money; and, depending on his gratitude, she sent him before her to the next city to provide lodging and other necessities. All the inhabitants of the place admired her beauty, and many persons in vain solicited her love. It happened that a ship arrived in the harbour of this city laden with merchandize, and the empress dispatched her servant to the captain, requesting him to attend her for the purpose of negotiating for the articles she might want. The captain came, received her orders, and promised to send the goods; but he was also captivated with the beauty of the empress, and desired her servant to follow him. He then offered the man a large reward to assist him in getting his mistress on board the vessel, that he might thus have her in his power, and carry her away. The fellow consented; and, telling his lady that the captain would only permit his merchandize to be examined on board the ship, prevailed on her to accompany him thither, and she immediately became a prisoner. The vessel sailed, the commander earnestly pressed his unlawful solicitations, and threatened death in case

of refusal. The empress requested a short respite, and addressed her prayers to heaven for assistance. A tempest instantly arose, the ship sunk to the bottom, and all perished except the empress and the captain. Each of them had clung to a piece of timber, but they were cast on different shores; and the empress, without her knowledge, on that of her own country. Here she soon found shelter in a convent, and applying herself to the study of healing the sick, soon became so skilful that her fame spread throughout the land. About this time the emperor's wicked brother had become a loathsome leper; the earl whose daughter had been killed was blind and paralytic; the treacherous servant became lame and gouty, and otherwise diseased; and the master of the ship had lost his reason. When the emperor heard of the lady's skill in curing diseases, he accompanied his brother to the convent, where the others had also come to be healed. The empress, preserving her disguise, informed them that she had no power of relieving them unless they previously, and in the presence of each other, made a full and solemn confession of their sins, and repented of them sincerely. This was accordingly done; and when the innocence of the empress was clearly mani-

420 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

fested, to the great and mutual surprise of all the parties, she first performed her promise to the sick, and then discovered herself to the emperor. He conducted her to the palace with much joy, and they finished their days happily.

Occleve has related this story in verse from the present work^a, and it is also to be found in the *Patrañas* of Timoneda^r. The outline has been borrowed from one of the *Contes devots*, or miracles of the Virgin Mary^s. The incident of the bloody knife occurs likewise in Chaucer's *Man of law's tale*, and in a story related by Gower^t.

The author of this *Gesta* has been nowhere recorded ; but it may be necessary on this occasion to lay before the reader part of a note prefixed to the Merchant of Venice, in which Dr. Farmer, has corrected one mistake, but inadvertently fallen into another. He says, "In a MS. of *Lidgate*, I find a tale of two marchants of *Egipt*

^a MS. Reg. 17 D. vi.

^r Patr. 21.

^s See Vincent de Beauvais, *Specul. historiale*, lib. viii. cap. 90, 91. Herolt, *Sermones discipuli*, par. iii. exempl. i. de mirac. b. Virginis, and Le Grand, *Fal liaux*, v. 164.

^t *Confessio Amantis*, fo. 32.

and of *Baldad, ex Gestis Romanorum*. Leland therefore could not be the original author as bishop Tanner suspected. He lived a century after Lidgate." The inference is perfectly just ; but the suspicion was not Bishop Tanner's, who has only retailed that of another writer, Richard Robinson, and he in reality seems to have regarded Leland merely as a *translator*, as will presently appear^g. Dr. Farmer had been deceived by the mode of printing Robinson's words, which have much the appearance of belonging to the bishop. There would have been more probability in a conjecture that either Walleis or Bromyard might have been the fabricator of the *English Gesta*. The moralizations to Ovid's metamorphoses, which the former of these persons composed, adapt him extremely well to the purpose ; but though the date of his existence is, on the whole, uncertain, he seems to have lived about half a century too early, viz. towards the beginning of the fourteenth century^h. From

^g *Biblioth. Britannico-Hibern.* p. 476.

^h Dufresnoy, in his catalogue of Roman historians has this strange article, "*Thomas Walleis gesta Romanorum, cum applicationibus moralisatis ac mysticis*. Paris, 1499, in 4." *Methode pour etudier l'histoire*, xi. 78, edit. 1772, 12mo. It remains to account for this most extraordinary

422 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

what has already been said of Bromyard, it will appear that he was no less qualified than the other for the authorship of the work in question.

TRANSLATION.—As this work was not circulated in foreign countries, no translation of it appears to have been made in any other language than the English ; and in that, not of the whole. There is a very fine manuscript in the Harleian collection, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, containing seventy stories onlyⁱ. In this manuscript are several pieces by Lydgate, and some tales from Gower's *Confessio amantis*. As the *English Gesta* appears to have been extremely well known to both these writers, and also to Occleve, it is by no means improbable that the above translation was made by one or the other of them. Whether it has ever been *printed* is another question. Mr. Warton has twice mentioned an edition without date by Wynkyn de Worde^k ; and Dr. Farmer has also, in a note prefixed to the Merchant of Venice, referred

assertion. It is certain that the book itself, which is the *original Gesta*, affords no evidence in support of it.

ⁱ No. 7333. Out of the seventy stories there are twenty-four of the additional. The whole deserve to be printed, partly as a curious monument of the English language.

^k Vol. ii. p. 18, and vol. iii. p. lxxxiii.

to the same edition. It had escaped the researches of the industrious Herbert, who has only mentioned it after Mr. Warton¹, and has in vain been sought for on the present occasion. The fortunate possessor of it may have the means of ascertaining whether it be the same as the above manuscript, by referring to the stories that have been given in the present volumes at the end of the remarks on the plays of King Lear, and the Merchant of Venice.

Among the manuscripts in the Royal Library, now in the British Museum, there is one entitled "*Eupolemia; Archippus and Panoplia*; that ys to say. His good warrfare agenst Satan and his malignant spirites; his good soldyer agenst the flesh, the lustes and concupiscences therof: And his complet harness agenst the worlde and the wickednes and wretchednes therof. Conteyning a true catalogue of all his pore paynefull laboures, translated, collected, allso printed and published and præsentèd in English, by authority. Shewyng allso what good Benifactors hee hathe had, for meynenance of his sayde pore study and peine, and what hynderances hee hathe had othirwyse from the yeare of oure Savyour Christe 1576,

¹ *Typogr. antiq.* p. 233.

426 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

Robinson perhaps alludes to, when he says that he had *perused bettered and corrected* the work; for it is very clear that the older translation in the Harleian manuscript was not known to him.

MANUSCRIPTS.—Of these many are still remaining. They are, in general, written during the reigns of the Fifth and Sixth Henries, though one or two appear to be as old as that of Richard the Second. As the work was a great favourite, many of the stories are found in some of those miscellaneous volumes, which, in all probability, constituted the private libraries of the monks. If these were carefully examined, there is no doubt that many might be added to the following, necessarily imperfect, list.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

1.	Harl. 206. 37. 47. contains 26 stories
2.	219. 15 stories
3.	406. 37 stories
4.	2270. 102 stories
5.	8132. 81 stories
6.	5259. 101 stories
7.	5369. 43 stories
8.	Sloane, 4029. 95 stories
9.	Bibl. Reg. 8 F. vi.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. 427

AT OXFORD.

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| 10. | Bodl. | 1986. or B. 3. 10 |
| 11. | | 2760. or MS. sup. O. i. Art. 17 |
| 12. | | 3826. but query? |
| 13. | Coll. Lincoln. lib. theolog. | 60 |
| 14. | Magdal. | 13 |
| 15. | | 60 |
| 16. | Joh. Bapt. C. | 31 |
| 17. | | G. 48 |

MISCELLANEOUS.

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 18. | Worcester Cathedral. | 80. |
| 19. | Hereford Cathedral. | 74. |
| 20. | MSS. Rob. Burscough, 82, in Catal. MSS. Angliæ. | |
| 21. | MSS. Symonds D'Ewes, 150. Catal. MSS. Angliæ. | |
| 22. | Trin. Coll. Dublin, G. | 326. |
| 23. | In the author's possession. 101 stories. | |
| 24. | Ibid. 50 stories. | |
| 25. | Ibid. 34 stories. | |

PRINTED EDITIONS.—It has been already stated that the Latin copy of this work has never been printed. The following are all translations into English, No. 1 may be that ascribed to Lealand; the rest are by Robinson.

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| 1. | No date, printed by Wynkyn de Worde |
| 2. | 1577. T. East. From Robinson's Eupolemia, as above. |
| 3. | 1595. T. East. 12mo. In the author's possession.
Contains 43 stories. |

428 ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM

4. No date. R. Bishop. 12mo.
5. No date. Stansby. 12mo.
6. 1648. R. Bishop. 12mo. 44 stories
7. 1663. J. B. for A. Crook. 12mo.
8. 1668. A. J. for A. Crook. 12mo. 44 stories.
9. 1672. E. Crowch, for A. Crook. 12mo.
10. 1689. for T. Bassett, &c. 12mo, 44 stories.
11. 1703. for R. Chiswell. 12mo. The same as that of 1668.



DISSERTATION III.

ON THE

ANCIENT ENGLISH

MORRIS DANCE.

A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
ANCIENT ENGLISH
MORRIS DANCE.

IT is the observation of an elegant writer, that disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing. An investigation of the subject before us, if completely and successfully performed, would serve to fill up a chasm in the history of our popular antiquities : but this must not be expected. The culpable indifference of historical writers to private manners, and more especially to the recreations and amusements of the common people, has occasioned the difficulties that always attend enquiries of this nature, many of which are involved in impenetrable darkness; whilst others

can only receive illustration from detached and scattered facts accompanied by judicious inferences and opinions.

It will be necessary in the first place, to attempt some definition of what the morris dance originally was: this may be best accomplished by the aid of etymology, which will generally be found a faithful guide, when managed with discretion. It seems, however, on the present occasion to have been too slightly treated in a work of considerable labour and ingenuity, the author of which has expressed an opinion that the Morris dance originated from that part of the ancient ceremony of the feast of fools, in which certain persons habited like buffoons, with bells, &c., joined in a dance. He then proceeds as follows, "The word *Morris* applied to the dance is usually derived from *Morisco*, which in the Spanish language signifies a *Moor*, as if the dance had been taken from the Moors; but I cannot help considering this as a mistake, for it appears to me that the *Morisco* or Moor dance is exceedingly different from the morris-dance formerly practised in this country; it being performed with the castanets or rattles, at the ends of the fingers, and not with bells attached to various

parts of the dress^a. I shall not pretend to investigate the derivation of the word *Morris* ; though probably it might be found at home : it seems, however, to have been applied to the dance in modern times, and, I trust, long after the festival to which it originally belonged was done away and had nearly sunk into oblivion^b."

Now if the term in question had been *exclusively* used in England, there would have been some weight in these observations ; but when we find it adopted by most of the European nations to express a dance, the origin of which both English and foreign glossaries uniformly ascribe to the Moors, we must pause at least before we consent to abandon the only clue that presents itself to assist us. The genuine Moorish or Morisco dance was, no doubt, very different from the European *morris* ; but there is scarcely an instance in which a fashion or amusement that has been borrowed from a distant region has not in its progress through other countries undergone such alterations as have much obscured its origin. This remark may be exemplified in chess

^a This will hereafter appear to be a mistake.

^b Strutt's *Sports and pastimes of the people of England*, p. 171.

484 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

and cards, which, beyond all doubt, were invented in India or China, and spread by means of the Arabians, progressively throughout Spain, Italy, France, England, and the North of Europe. But the above writer has cited a passage from the play of *Periplus*, 1669, in which the *Spanish Morisco* is mentioned; and this not only shows the legitimacy of the term *morris*, but that the real and uncorrupted Moorish dance was to be found in Spain, where it still continues to the light both natives and strangers under the name of the *fandango*. It may be likewise remarked, that the exquisitely pretty music to this lively dance is undoubtedly Moorish. The Spanish morris was also danced at puppet-shows by a person habited like a Moor, with castagnets; and Junius [Du Jon] has informed us that the morris dancers usually blackened their faces with soot, that they might the better pass for Moors.

* *Hist. of musick*, vol. iv. 388, by Sir John Hawkins, who was clearly of opinion that the morris dance was derived from the Moors.

* *Etymologicum Anglicanum*: In further corroboration of this deduction of the morris dance, the following words may be adduced; *MORISSEUX* a kind of grotesque painting, sometimes called *Arabesque*, and used in embroidery and damasking. *MORISOLS*, and *MORISELS*, a gold colour used

Some have sought the origin of the morris in the *Pyrrhic* ~~adaptation~~ of the ancients, a military dance which seems to have been invented by the Greeks, and was afterwards adopted by the *Salii* or priests of Mars. This continued to be practised for many ages, till it became corrupted by figures and gesticulations foreign to its original purpose. Such a dance was that well known in France and Italy by the name of the dance of fools or *Matachins*, who were habited in short jackets with gilt-paper helmets, long streamers tied to their shoulders, and bells to their legs. They carried in their hands a sword and buckler, with which they made a clashing noise, and performed various quick and sprightly evolutions. ~~and a long list of names of the various dances~~ in Spain by the Moors, and called in the barbarous Latin of the fourteenth century *moritzans*. See Carpentier. *Suppl. ad glossar. Ducangian.* v. *Morizans*. MORRIS WAX, called likewise *mores wax*, in the *Garbelling of spices*, 1594, 4to. To these the *morris-pike* may perhaps be added. It is probable that the English terms *morris* and *morice* have been corrupted from *mores*, the older and more genuine orthography.

1. Tabourot *Orchesographie*, 1589, 4to, p. 97, where the several postures of this dance are described and represented. The *Pyrrhic* dance appears to have travelled from Greece into the North. See Olaus Magnus, *De gentibus septentrionalibus*, lib. xv. c. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

A species of this sword dance by some means or other got introduced into England, where it has generally and unaccountably been exhibited by women, whose dexterous feats of tumbling and dancing with swords at fairs, and in the minor theatres, are still remembered by many persons^f. A very learned writer, speaking of the *Pyrrhica saltatio*, informs us, that "The common people in many parts of England still practise what they call a *Morisce dance*, in a wild manner, and as it were in armour, at proper intervals striking upon each others staves, &c.^g" This might be found on enquiry to differ from the common morris, and to be a mixture of the old Pyrrhic and Moorish dances. Such a one may be alluded to in *The second part of King Henry the Sixth*, Act iii. Sc. 1,

"————— I have seen him
Caper upright like a *wild Morisco*,
Shaking the bloody darts, as he his bells."

^f It is remarkable that the same practice should be found in the island of Ceylon. Knox tells us that "A woman takes two naked swords, under each arm one, and another she holds in her mouth, then fetcheth a run and turns clean over, and never touches the ground till she lights on her feet again holding all her swords fast." *Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 99,

^g Wise's *Enquiries concerning the first inhabitants, Language, &c. of Europe*, p. 51.

... Before we proceed to an examination of the more immediate object of this essay, the English morris, it may be as well to lay before the reader a short description of the *uncorrupted morris dance*, as practised in France about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has been preserved by Tabourot, the oldest and by far the most curious writer of any other on the art of dancing^a. He relates, that in his youthful days it was the custom in good societies for a boy to come into the hall, when supper was finished, with his face blackened, his forehead bound with white or yellow taffeta, and bells tied to his legs. He then proceeded to dance the *Morisco*, the whole length of the hall, backwards and forwards, to the great amusement of the companyⁱ. He hints

^a Jean Tabourot, canon and official of the cathedral of Langres, published his *Orchesographie et traité en forme de dialogue par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre et practiquer l'honneste exercice des dances*, 1589, 4to, under the anagrammatized name of *Thoinot Arbeau*. He died in 1595, at the age of 66. His work is equally curious and uncommon.

ⁱ But the French morris can be traced to a much earlier period. Among other instances of the prodigality of Messire Gilles de Raiz, in 1440, *morris dancers* are specified. Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii. 1069. In the accounts of Olivier le Roax, treasurer to Arthur III. duke of Bretagne

438 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH MORRIS DANCE

It has been supposed that the morris dance was that the bells might have been borrowed from the *crotali* of the ancients in the Pyrrhic dance. He then describes the more modern morris dance, which was performed by striking the ground with the forepart of the feet; but, as this was found to be too fatiguing, the motion was afterwards confined to the heel, the toes being kept firm, by which means the dancer contrived to rattle his bells with more effect. He adds that this mode of dancing fell into disuse, as it was found to bring on gouty complaints. This is the air to which the last-mentioned morris was performed.



in 1457, is this article: "à certains compaignons qui avoient fait plusieurs esbatemens de *morisques* et autres jeux devant le duc à Tours, vi. cecus." Id. 1295. At a splendid feast given by Gaston de Foix, at Vendôme in 1458, "four yong laddes and a damosell attired like savages daunced (by good direction) an excellent *Morisco*, before

It has been supposed that the morris dance was first brought into England in the time of Edward the Third, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain; but it is much more probable that we had it from our Gallic neighbours, or even from the Flemings. Few if any vestiges of it can be traced beyond the reign of Henry the Seventh; about which time, and particularly in that of Henry the Eighth, the churchwardens' accounts in several parishes afford materials that throw much light on the subject, and show that the morris dance made a very considerable figure in the parochial festivals. A late valuable writer has remarked that in some places the May-games of Robin Hood were nothing more than a morris dance, in which *Robin Hood, Little John, Maid Marian, and Friar Tuck*, were the principal personages, the others being a clown or fool, the

the assembly. *Fairies Theater of Honour*, p. 245; and see *Carpentier, Suppl. ad glossar. Ducangian. v. Morikinus*. Coquillart, a French poet, who wrote about 1470, says that the Swiss danced the *Morisco* to the beat of the drum. *Œuvres*, p. 127.

Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, 135. What this writer has added on the subject of the morris dance is not very interesting; but he is certainly mistaken in his explanation of *six, seven, or nine men's morris*, as he says it is a game of nine men's morris, which is a game of nine men's morris, and not a game of nine men's morris.

440 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

hobby-horse, the taborer, and the dancers, who were more or less numerous¹; but this seems to be a mistake. The May-games of Robin Hood appear to have been principally instituted for the encouragement of archery, and were generally accompanied by morris dancers, who, nevertheless, formed but a subordinate part of the ceremony. It is by no means clear that at any time Robin Hood and his companions were *constituent* characters in the morris. There were, besides, May-games of a more simple nature, being merely dances round a May-pole, by the lads and lasses of the village, and the undoubted remains of the Roman Floralia^m. We find also that other festivals and ceremonies had their morris, as Holy-Thursday; the Whitsun-ales; the bride-ales, or weddingsⁿ, and a sort of play or pageant called the lord of misrule. Sheriffs too had their morris dance^o. The reader may be amused with the

¹ Ritson's *Robin Hood*, I. cii.

^m See particularly Stubbes's *Anatomic of abuses*, p. 109; edit. 1595, 4to.

ⁿ In Laneham's *Letter from Kenilworth or Killingworth castle*, a bride-ale is described, in which mention is made of "a lively Moris dauns, according too the auncient manner: six dauncerz, Mawdmarion, and the fool."

^o See Stowe's *Survey of London*, 1618, 4to, p. 161.

following account of the lord of misrule, as it contains a description of an attendant morris. It has been fortunately handed down to us by a puritanical writer of the reign of Elizabeth, whose loud ravings against the fashionable excesses of his countrymen have contributed to furnish posterity with the completest information respecting a considerable portion of the manners and customs of the above period that is any where to be found. These are his words: "First, all the wilde heads of the parish, flocking together, chuse them a graund captaine (of mischief) whome they innoble with the title of *my Lord of misrule*, and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king annoynted, chooseth foorth twentie, fourtie, three-score or a hundred lustie guttes like to himselfe to waite upon his lordly majesty, and to garde his noble person. Then every one of these his men, he investeth with his liveries of greene, yellow, or some other light wanton collour. And as though that were not (bawdy) gawdy ynough, I should say, they bedecke themselves with scarffes, ribbons and laces hanged all over with golde ringes, precious stones, and other jewels: this done, they tie about either legge twentie or fourtie belles, with rich handkerchiefe in their

handes, and sometimes laide a crosse over their shoulders and neckes, borrowed for the most part of their pretie *Mossies* and loving *Beisies*, for bussing them in the darke. Thus all things set in order, then have they their hobby-horses, their dragons and other antiques, together with their bandie *pipers*, and thundering *drummers*, to strike up the *Devils Daunce* withall: then march this heathen company towards the church and church-yarde, their *pypers* pyping, their drummers thundering, their stumpe dauncing, their belles iyingling, their handkercheefes fluttering about their heades like madde men, their hobbie horses, and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng: and in this sorte they goe to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching) dauncing and swinging their handkercheefes over their heades in the church like Devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can heare his owne voyce. Then the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleere, and mount upon formes and pewes, to see these goodly pageants solemnised in this sort. Then after this about the church they goe againe and againe, and so forth into the church yard, where they have commonly their sommer haules, their bowers, arbours, and

banqueting houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and daunce all that day, and (peradventure) all that night too. And thus these terrestrial fiddlers spend the Sabbath day. Another sort of fantastical foibles bring to these helhounds (the Lord of misrule and his complices) some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some olde cheese, some custardes, some cracknels, some cakes, some flammes, some tartes, some creame, some meat, some one thing, some another; but if they knewe that as often as they bringe anye to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the Devil and Sathanas, they would repent and withdrawe their handes, which God graunt they may. Another declaimer of the like kind, speaking of May games and morris dances, thus holds forth; "The abuses which are committed in your may-games are infinite. The first wherof is this, that you doe use to attyre in womans apparel whom you doe most communly call *may-murrians*, whereby you infringe that straight commandement which is given in Deut. xxii. 5, that men must not put on womens apparel for feare of enormities. Nay I myself have seene in a may game a troupe, the greater part wherof

444 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

hath been men, and yet have they been attyred so like unto women, that theyr faces being hidde (as they were indeede) a man coulde not discern them from women. The second abuse, which of all other is the greatest, is this, that it hath been toulde that your morice dauncers have daunced naked in nettes: what greater entisement unto naughtines could have been devised? The third abuse is, that you (because you will loose no tyme) doe use commonly to runne into woodes in the night time, amongst maidens, to fet bowes, in so muche as I have hearde of tenne maidens which went to fet May, and nine of them came home with childe⁹." He seems likewise to allude to a character of the *Devil* in the May games, of which no mention is elsewhere made.

In the course of time these several recreations were blended together so as to become almost indistinguishable. It is however very certain that the May games of Robin Hood, accompanied with the morris, were at first a distinct ceremony

⁹ Fetherston's *Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing*, 1582, 12mo, sign. D. 7. See a passage to the same purpose in Northbrooke's *Treatise against dicing, dancing, &c.* 1597, 4to, fo. 68 b.

from the simple morris, which when Warner lived was celebrated about the season of Easter, and before the May games : he thus speaks of them,

“ At Pasko begun our Morrise, and ere Pentecost our May’.”

It is probable that when the practice of archery declined, the May games of *Robin Hood* were discontinued, and that the morris dance was transferred to the celebration of Whitsuntide, either as connected with the Whitsun ales, or as a separate amusement. In the latter instance it appears to have retained one or two of the characters in the May pageants ; but no uniformity was or possibly could be observed, as the arrangement would vary in different places according to the humour or convenience of the parties.

The painted glass window belonging to George Tollett, Esq. at Betley, in Staffordshire, exhibits, in all probability, the most curious as well as the oldest representation of an English May game and morris dance, that is any where to be found*. The learned possessor of this curiosity, to whom the readers of Shakspeare are much indebted

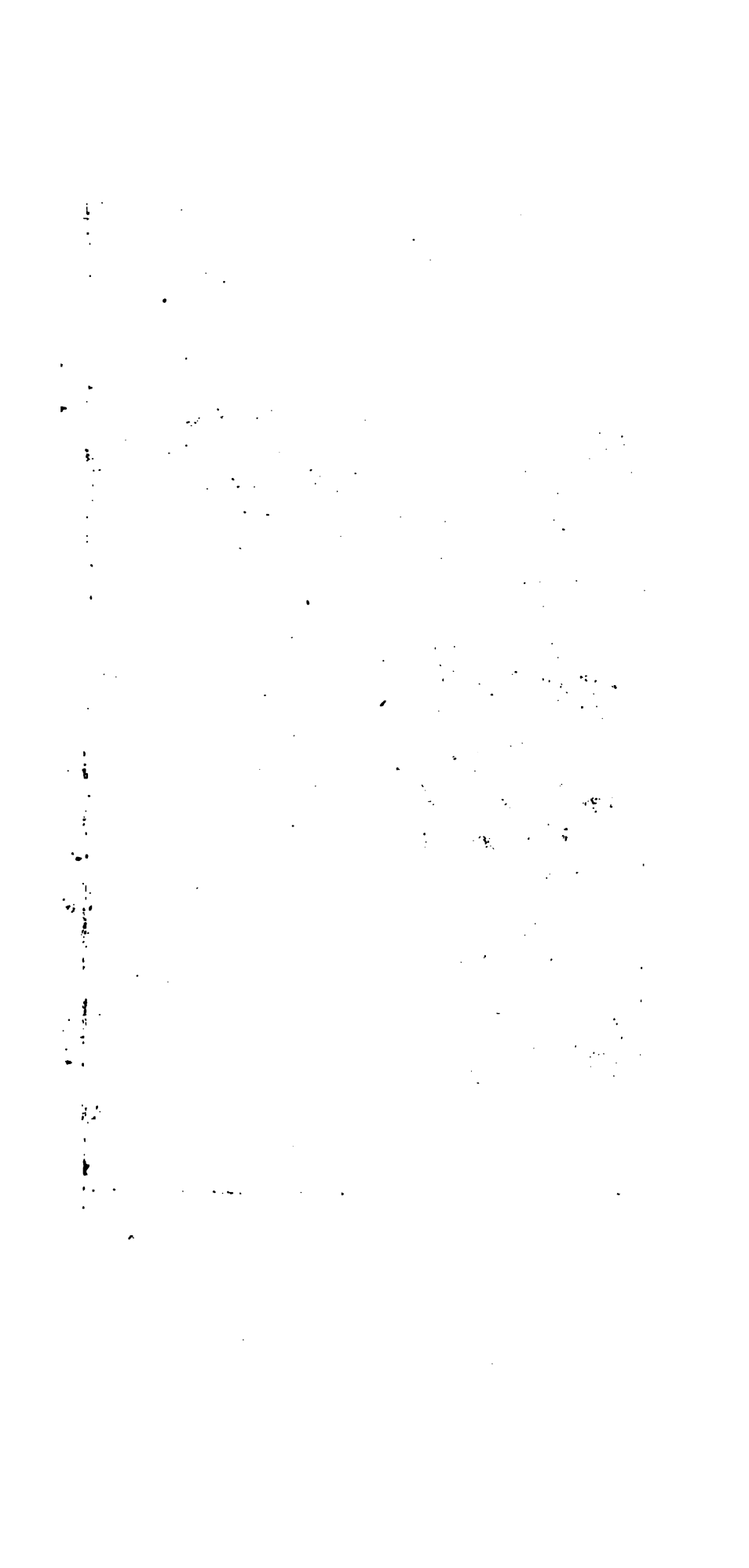
* Albion's England, 1612, p. 121.

* Steevens's *Shakspeare*, at the end of the play of *King Henry IV. part I.*

440 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

not only for this, but for many other valuable communications, has supposed that the window might have been painted in the youthful days of Henry the Eighth, when he delighted in May games; but it must be observed that the dresses and costume of some of the figures are certainly of an older period, and may, without much hazard, be pronounced to belong to the reign of Edward the Fourth. Among other proofs that could be adduced, it will be sufficient to compare it with the annexed print of another morris dance. This is a copy from an exceedingly scarce engraving on copper by Israel Von Mecheln, or Meecken, so named from the place of his nativity, a German village on the confines of Flanders, in which latter country this artist appears chiefly to have resided; and therefore in most of his prints we may observe the Flemish costume of his time. From the pointed shoes that we see in one of the figures it must have been executed between the year 1460, and 1470; about which latter period the broad-toed shoes came into fashion in France and Flanders. It seems to have been intended as a pattern for goldsmith's work, probably a cup or tankard.

The artist, in a fancy representation of foliage, has introduced several figures belonging to a





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THE MORRIS DANCE. NO. 447.

English May game morris consisting of the lady of the May, the fool, the piper, two morris dancers with bells and streamers, and four other dancing characters, for which appropriate names will not easily be found. The similitude between some of the figures in this print and others in Mr. Tollet's window is very striking, and shows that the period of execution, as to both, was nearly the same. One objection to this opinion will, no doubt, present itself to the skilful spectator, and that is the shape of the letters which form the inscription A MERY MAY on the pane of glass No. 8. These are comparatively modern, and cannot be carried further back than the time of Elizabeth; but this will be accounted for hereafter.

The above curious *painting* has furnished the means of ascertaining some of the personages of which the May games and morris consisted at the time of its execution. To trace their original forms and numbers, or the progressive changes they underwent, with any degree of accuracy, would be perhaps impossible; because not only the materials for such an attempt are extremely few, but a variety of circumstances contributed to constitute their differences even during the same period. Wherever we turn, nothing but

irregularity presents itself. Sometimes we have a lady of the May, *simply*, with a friar Tuck; and in later times a Maid Marian remained without even a Robin Hood or a friar. But consistency is not to be looked for on these occasions, when we find, as has been remarked, that the May games, those of Robin Hood, the ales, and the morris dances, were blended together as convenience or caprice happened to dictate^t.

The several characters that seem in more ancient times to have composed the May game and morris were the following: Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, Maid Marian the queen or lady of the May, the fool, the piper, and several morris dancers habited, as it appears, in various

^t There is a remarkable instance of the corruption that has been gradually introduced into popular ceremonies, in the celebration of the gunpowder-plot; in which, formerly, Guy Faux was ignominiously carted, in company with the Pope and the Devil, all of whom were afterwards consigned to the flames: whereas at present we have only the image of a fellow, or sometimes a real boy bedizened with gilded rags, ruffles, and powdered periwig, under the appellation of *Poor Guy*, for whom the attendants seem to crave charity. The Pope had been long dismissed by proclamation or act of parliament; and the Devil is probably forgotten by some, or become an object of too much terror with others to be sported with.

modes. Afterwards a hobby horse, and a dragon were added. To avoid the confusion that might otherwise ensue, it will be best to speak of each character by itself.

I. ROBIN HOOD. The history of this celebrated outlaw has been so ably and ingeniously treated by Mr. Ritson, and every fact that relates to him so minutely developed, that it will be long before any novelty shall be discovered of sufficient importance to deserve attention. It appears that in the May game he sometimes carried a painted standard^u.

II. LITTLE JOHN. The faithful companion of Robin Hood, but of whom little that is not fabulous has been handed down to us. He is first mentioned, together with Robin Hood, by

^u Churchwardens' accounts at Kingston, in Lysons's *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 227. The learned author of this interesting work has remarked that he had found no entries at Kingston, relating to the May games, after the 29, Hen. 8; but they certainly continued, as parochial ceremonies, in other places to a much later period. In the churchwardens' accounts of Great Marlow it appears that dresses for the morris dance were lent to neighbouring parishes so late as 1629. See Langley's *Antiquities of Desborough*, 4to, 1797.

450 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

Fordun the Scottish historian, who wrote in the fourteenth century, and who speaks of the celebration of the story of these persons in the *theatrical performances* of his time, and of the minstrels' songs relating to them, which he says the common people preferred to all *other romances*^v.

III. FRIAR TUCK. There is no very ancient mention of this person, whose history is very uncertain. Drayton has thus recorded him, among other companions of Robin Hood ;

“ Of Tuck the merry friar which many a sermon made
In praise of Robin Hood, his outlaws and their trade^x. ”

He is known to have formed one of the characters in the May games during the reign of Henry the Eighth, and had been probably introduced into them at a much earlier period. From the occurrence of this name on other occasions, there is good reason for supposing that it was a sort of generic appellation for any friar, and that it originated from the dress of the order, which was *tucked* or folded at the waist by means of a cord or girdle. Thus Chaucer, in his prologue to the *Canterbury tales*, says of the Reve ;

“ *Tucked* he was, as is a frere aboute : ”

^v Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, 1759, folio, tom. ii. p. 104.

^x *Polyolion*, song xxvi.

And he describes one of the friars in the Sompnour's tale :

“ With scrippe and tipped staff, *ytucked* hie.”

This friar maintained his situation in the morris under the reign of Elizabeth, being thus mentioned in Warner's *Albion's England* :

“ Tho Robin Hood, liell John, *frier Tucke* and Marian deftly play :”

but is not heard of afterwards. In Ben Jonson's *Masque of gipsies*, the clown takes notice of his omission in the dance^y.

IV. MAID MARIAN. None of the materials that constitute the more authentic history of Robin Hood, prove the existence of such a character in the shape of his mistress. There is a pretty French pastoral drama of the eleventh or twelfth century, entitled *Le jeu du berger et de la bergere*, in which the principal characters are *Robin* and *Marion*, a shepherd and shepherdess. Mr. Warton thought that our English Marian might be illustrated from this composition; but Mr. Ritson is unwilling to assent to this opinion, on the ground that the French Robin and Marion “ are not the

^y Ben Jonson's *Works*, 1756, vol. vi. p. 93.

Robin and Marian of Sherwood." Yet Mr. Warton probably meant no more than that the name of Marian had been suggested from the above drama, which was a great favourite among the common people in France, and performed much about the season at which the May games were celebrated in England. The great intercourse between the countries might have been the means of importing this name amidst an infinite variety of other matters; and there is indeed no other mode of accounting for the introduction of a name which never occurs in the page of English history². We have seen that

² *Marian*, or as it is more frequently written *Marion*, is not formed, as some French writers have supposed, from Mary and Ann, but more probably from *Mariamne* the wife of Herod, whose name seems borrowed from that of Miriam מרים the prophetess, the sister of Aaron. Miriam is said to come from a Syrian word signifying *mistress*, or from מרר *marar*, *bitterness*. The name of *Mary*, evidently contracted from *Miriam* or *Mariamne*, does not occur till the time of the daughter of Joachim and Anne, the mother of Christ, at which period we find other *Maries* in the New Testament. It is remarkable that *Maria*, from *Marius*, should not occur among the Roman names of women, in like manner as we have Julia, Cornelia, Fulvia, Proba, Valeria, &c., from Julius, Cornelius, Fulvius, Probus, and

the story of Robin Hood was, at a very early period, of a dramatic cast; and it was perfectly natural that a principal character should be transferred from one drama to another. It might be thought likewise that the English Robin deserved his Marian as well as the other. The circumstance of the French Marian being acted by a boy contributes to support the above opinion; the part of the English character having been personated, though not always, in like manner. Little, if any, stress can be laid on the authority of an old play cited by Mr. Steevens to prove that "*Maid Marian* was originally a name assumed by *Matilda* the daughter of Robert Lord Fitzwater, while Robin Hood remained in a state of outlawry^a." This is rather to be considered as a dramatic fiction, designed to explain a character the origin of which had been long forgotten.

Maid Marian not only officiated as the paramour of Robin Hood in the May games, but as the *queen or lady of the May*, who seems to have

Valerius. The facetious and eccentric Edmund Gayton, in the dedication to his *Festivous notes on Don Quixote*, speaks of *Mayd Myriam*. He perhaps imagined that the morris dance had been suggested by the prophetess and her dancing women with their timbrels.

^a Steevens's *Shaksp.* viii. 530.

been introduced long before the games of Robin Hood. In the isle of Man they not only elected a queen of May, but likewise a queen of winter^b. Gatherings for the May lady, as anciently for Robin Hood, were lately kept up at Cambridge, but in a corrupted form, the real occasion of this ceremony being, in all probability, quite unknown to the gatherers. There can be no doubt that the queen of the May is the legitimate representative of the Goddess Flora in the Roman festival.

The introduction of Robin Hood into the celebration of May probably suggested the addition of a *king* or *lord of the May*. In the year 1306 Robert Bruce caused himself to be crowned at Scone, and a second time by the hands of his mistress, the adulterous wife of the earl of Bowhan, who changed his name to David. It is reported that he said to his own wife on this occasion, "Yesterday we were but earl and countess, to day we are king and queen;" to which she replied, "True, you are now a *summer king*, but you may not chance to be a winter one." Matthew of Westminster has recorded this fact,

^b Waldron's *History of the isle of Man*, 12mo, p. 95, where he has described the mock battle between the queens.

and Holinshed, who copies him, makes the lady say, that "she feared they should prove but as a summer king and queen, such as in country townes the yong folks chose for sport to dance about may-poles." In 1557 there was a May game in Fenchurch street, with a *Lord and Lady of the May*, and a morris dance^c. Both these characters are introduced in a morris in Fletcher's play of *The two noble kinsmen*, Act iii.; and, in the *Knight of the burning pestle*, a grocer's apprentice personates a lord of the May dressed out in "scarves, feathers, and rings." He is made to deliver a speech from the conduit to the populace, of which this is a part;

"London, to thee I do present the merry month of May,
Let each true subject be content to hear me what I say:
For from the top of conduit-head, as plainly may appear,
I will both tell my name to you, and wherefore I came
here.
My name is *Rafe*, by due descent, though not ignoble I,
Yet far inferiour to the flock of gracious grocery.
And by the common counsel of my fellows in the Strand,
With gilded staff, and crossed skarfe, the *May lord* here
I stand."

A lord and lady are still preserved in some places where the Whitsun-ales continue to be

^c Strype's *Eccl. memorials*, iii. 376.

be celebrated, and perhaps in other morrises during the season of May.

To return to Maid Marian—She was usually dressed according to the fashion of the time, as we may collect from the figures of her in Mr. Tollett's window, and Israel's engraving. In both the kirtle and petticoat are alike; and the pendent veil is supported by the hand. The English figure holds a flower, and has a fancy coronet as *queen of the May*. The other has apparently an apple in her hand, and her steeple head dress is what was actually worn in the middle of the fifteenth century by queens and ladies of high rank. Barnaby Rich, who wrote in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., inveighing against the foppery of men's apparel, exclaims, "And from whence commeth this wearing, and this embroidering of long locks, this curiosity that is used amongst men, in frizeling and curling of their haire, this gentlewoman-like starcht bands, so be-edged and belaced, *fitter for Maid Marion in a Moris dance*, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage that shold be in a gentleman^d?"

It appears that the Lady of the May was some-

^d *The honestie of this age*, 1615, 4to, p. 35.

times carried in procession on men's shoulders ; for Stephen Batman, speaking of the Pope and his ceremonies, states that he is carried on the backs of four deacons, " after the maner of carying whytepot queenes in 'Western May games'." Her usual gait was nice and affected^f. Thus in the description of the family visit to the royal guest, in the old ballad of *The miller of Mansfield* :

" And so they jetted down towards the king's hall :
The merry old miller, with his hands on his side ;
His wife, like Maid Marian did mince at that tide."

But although the May-lady was originally a character of some delicacy and importance, she appears to have afterwards declined in both respects. In the time of Elizabeth she was usually represented by some smooth-faced and effeminate youth^g. Falstaff tells the hostess, that " for

^e What these ladies exactly were is not easy to comprehend. *Whitepot* in old cookery was a kind of custard, made in a crust or dish with cream, eggs, pulse of apples, sugar, spices, and sippets of *white* or manchet bread. It is possible therefore that Maid Marian, being occasionally personated by a kitchen malkin or cook wench, obtained the title of a *white-pot queen*.

^f *Golden books of the leaden Goddes*, 1577, 4to, fo. 30.

^g *Greene's Quip for an upstart courtier*, sig. D. 3.

womankind Maid Marian may be the Deputy's wife of the ward to her;" meaning perhaps that she was as masculine in her appearance as the country clown who personated Maid Marian: and in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Dorothea desires her brother to conduct himself with more gentleness towards his mistress, unless he would chuse to marry *Malkyn the May lady*; another allusion to the degraded state of Maid Marian, who is here assimilated to a vulgar drudge or scullion both in name and condition. But during the whole of her existence mirth and gaiety were her constant companions. The translator of *The hospitall of incurable fooles*, 1600, 4to, speaking of Acco, the old woman who became mad on beholding her ugliness in a mirror, says that "one while shee could be *as merrie as Maid Marrian*." Nor was this character, even in later times, *uniformly* vulgar. Every one will call to mind Nicholas Breton's pretty sonnet of *Phyllida and Corydon*, where the shepherdess,

" ————— with garlands gay
Was made the Lady of the Maye."

V. THE FOOL. This character in the *morris* was the same, in point of dress, as the domestic

buffoon of his time. In Mr. Tollett's window he has additional bells tied to his arms and ankles as a morris dancer, but is, in other respects, the English fool of the fifteenth century. Yet the habit of this eccentric person was not the same in all countries, nor even uniform in the same country. Accordingly he is very differently accoutred in the Flemish print. He has a cap or hood with asses' ears, and a row of bells for the crest; in his left hand he carries a bauble, and over his right arm hangs a cloth or napkin. He wears behind what seems intended for a purse or wallet, with which the fool in the old German prints is generally exhibited. It is certain that there was only one fool in the morris; and therefore Mr. Steevens and Mr. Tollett have erred in supposing the figure No. 1, in the window to be the *Bavian fool with the bib*. The former gentleman had apparently misconceived the following passage in Fletcher's *Two noble kinsmen*,

“ ————— and next the fool,
The *Bavian*, with long tail and eke long tool.”

Here are not *two* fools described. The construction is, “next comes the fool, *i. e.* the *Bavian* fool, &c.” This might have been the *idiot*

460 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

fool, and so denominated from his wearing a bib, in French *bavon*^h, because he drivelled. Thus in *Bonduca*, Act v., Decius talks of a "dull *slavering* fool." The tricks of the Bavian, his tumbling and barking like a dog, suggested perhaps by the conduct of Robert the Devil when disguised as a fool in his well known and once popular romance, were peculiar to the morris dance described in *The two noble kinsmen*, which has some other characters that seem to have been introduced for stage effect, and not to have belonged to the genuine morris. The tail was the fox tail that was sometimes worn by the morris fool; and the long tool will be best understood by referring to the cut of the idiot in

^h *Bavon* or *bavette*, is from *bave*, spittle. Hence the middle age Latin term for a fool, *lavirus*. See Ducange *Gloss*. This is a very plausible etymology, and might stand well enough by itself; but it must not be concealed that in some of the Northern languages *Bavian* signifies a monkey or *baloon*. Whether Fletcher, who seems the only writer that has made use of this word, applied it to the fool in question on account of the *monkey tricks* that he played, remains to be ascertained. If we could discover the names of the characters in a French, Dutch, or German morris of this time, some light might be thrown on the subject.

the *genuine* copy of the *dance of death* usually, though improperly, ascribed to Holbein, and by reflecting on some peculiar properties and qualifications of the idiot character.

What Mr. Tollett has termed a *lib* was in fact no uncommon part of the male dress in the fifteenth century. Some of the contemporary figures of the Beverley minstrels are so habited, as well as others in the representation of the Whitsun-ale at Cirencesterⁱ. Whatever character the supposed Bavian of the window was, he is also found in the print by Israel on the left hand of the fool, not only in the same habit, but with his hands and feet precisely in similar attitudes. There is no doubt that the morris dance was in some respects a sort of *chironomy*; and Higgins, the English editor of Junius's *Nomenclator*, has actually translated the word *chironomia* by "the morrise dance^k." In the absence of some of the other characters of the morris dance, the exertions of the fool appear to have been increased,

ⁱ See Carter's *Specimens of ancient sculpture and painting*, vol. ii. pl. xiii. Nos. 5 and 13, and pl. xxxvi.

^k Edit. 1585, 12mo, p. 299. See likewise the article *chironomus* in p. 521.

462 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

as we learn from Ben Jonson's *Entertainment at Althrope* :

" But see the hobby-horse is forgot.
Foole, it must be your lot,
To supply his want with faces
And some other buffon graces.
You know how."—

Coryat relates that near Montreuil he saw " a *Whitsuntide foole* disguised like a foole, wearing a long coate, wherein there were many severall peeces of cloth of divers colours, at the corners whereof there hanged the tailes of squirrels: he bestowed a little peece of plate, wherein was expressed the effigies of the Virgin Mary, upon every one that gave him money: for he begged money of all travellers for the benefite of the parish church¹." The romance of *The spiritual Quixote* has a morris fool with a fox's tail depending from his cap, and a sheep bell attached to his hinder parts. In the modern morris dance the fool is continued, but his real character and dress appear to have been long since forgotten. In some places he is called *the Squire*.

VI. THE PIPER. Sometimes called Tom Piper, an obvious and necessary attendant on a morris,

¹ Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, 4to, p. 9.

and who requires very little illustration. Mr. Steevens has already referred to Drayton for the mention of him; and Spenser, in his third eclogue, speaking of the rimes of bad poets, observes that

“ *Tom Piper makes as little melodie ;*”

whence we are to infer that his music was not usually of the very best kind. The resemblance as to attitude and dress, between the figures of this character in Mr. Tollett's painting and the Flemish print, is remarkable. In both we have the sword and feather. What Mr. Tollett has termed his *silver shield* seems a mistake for the lower part or flap of his stomacher.

VII. THE HOBBY-HORSE ; of which the earliest vestige now remaining is in the painted window at Betley. It has been already observed that he was often omitted in the morris. During the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans made considerable havoc among the May-games, by their preachings and invectives. Poor Maid Marian was assimilated to the whore of Babylon ; friar Tuck was deemed a remnant of Popery, and the Hobby-horse an impious and Pagan superstition ; and they were at length most completely put to the rout as the bitterest enemies of religion. King James's book of sports restored the lady and the

Hobby-horse : but during the commonwealth they were again attacked by a new set of fanatics ; and together with the whole of the May festivities, the Whitsun-ales &c., in many parts of England degraded. At the restoration they were once more revived^m. The allusions to the omission of the Hobby-horse are frequent in the old plays, and the line

“ For O, for O, the hobby horse is forgot,”ⁿ is termed by Hamlet an *epitaph*, which Mr. Theobald supposed, with great probability, to have been satirical. The following extract from a

^m Yet, in the reign of Charles the Second, Thomas Hall, another puritanical writer, published his *Funebria Floræ, the Downfall of May-games*, 1661, 4to, in which, amidst a great deal of silly declamation against these innocent amusements, he maintains that “ Papists are forward to give the people May-poles, and the Pope’s holiness with might and main keeps up his superstitious festivals as a prime prop of his tottering kingdome.” That “ by these sensual sports and carnal-flesh-pleasing wayes of wine, women, dancing, revelling, &c., he hath gained more souls, than by all the tortures and cruel persecutions that he could invent.” He adds, “ What a sad account will these libertines have to make, when the Lord shall demand of them, where wast thou such a night ? why, my Lord, I was with the prophane rabble, stealing May-poles ; and where wast thou such a day ? why, my Lord, I was drinking, dancing, dallying, ranting, whoring, carousing, &c.”

scene in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Women pleased*, Act iv. will best show the sentiments of the puritans on this occasion, and which the author has deservedly ridiculed :

HOB.

Surely I will dance no more, 'tis most ridiculous,
I find my wife's instructions now mere verities,
My learned wife's, she often hath pronounc'd to me
My safety ; *Bemby*, defie these sports, thou art damn'd else.
This beast of Babylon I will never back again,
His pace is sure prophane, and his lewd wi-hees,
The sons of Hymyn and Gymyn, in the wilderness.

FAR.

Fie neighbour *Bemby*, in your fits again ?
Your zeal sweats, this is not careful, neighbour,
The *Hobby-horse* is a seemly *Hobby-horse*.

HOB.

The beast is an unseemly, and a lewd beast,
And got at Rome by the Pope's coach-horses,
His mother was the mare of ignorance.

SOTO.

Cobler thou ly'st, and thou wert a thousand coblers
His mother was an honest mare, and a mare of good credit,
Scorn'd any coach-horse the Pope had ; thou art foolish,
And thy blind zeal makes thee abuse the beast.

HOB.

I do defie thee and thy foot-cloth too,
And tell thee to thy face, this prophane riding
I feel it in my conscience, and I dare speak it,
This unedified ambling hath brought a scourge upon us.

486 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

And dance as you were wont, you have been excellent.

Will you dance no more, neighbour?

Hos.

Surely no.

Carry the beast to his crib: I have renounc'd him

And all his works.

Soro.

Shall the Hobby-horse be forgot then?

The hopeful Hobby-horse, shall he be founder'd?

Hos.

I cry out on't,

'Twas the forerunning sin brought in those tilt-slaves;

They brandish 'gainst the church, the Devil calls May pole.

Soro.

Take up your horse again, and girth him to ye,

And girth him handsomely, good neighbour *Bomby*.

Hos.

I spit at him.

Soro.

Spit in the horse-face, cobbler?

Thou out-of-tune psalm-singing slave; spit in his *visitory*,

Hos.

I spit again, and thus I rue against him?

Against this beast, that signify'd destruction,

Forshaw'd it the falls of monarchies.

Soro.

I'll see of him?

Spit such another spit, by this hand cobbler,

I'll make ye set a new piece o' your nose there;

Take t up I say, and dance without more biding,

And dance as you were wont; you have been excellent,
 And are still but for this new nicety.
 And your wife's learned lectures; take up the Hobby-horse,
 Come, 'tis a thing thou hast lov'd with all thy heart, Bomby,
 And wouldst do still, but for the round-breech'd brothers.
 You were not thus in the morning; take 't up I say,
 Do not delay, but do it: you know I am officer
 And I know 'tis unfit all these good fellows
 Should wait the cooling of your zealous porridge;
 Chuse whether you will dance, or have me execute;
 I'll clap your neck i'th' stocks, and there I'll make ye
 Dance a whole day, and dance with these at night too.
 You mend old shoes well, mend your old manners better,
 And suddenly see you leave off this sincereness,
 This new hot batch, borrowed from some brown baker,
 Some learned brother, or I'll so bait ye for 't,
 Take it quickly up.

Hob.

I take my persecution,
 And thus I am forc'd a by-word to my brethren.

The Hobby-horse was represented by a man equipped with as much pasteboard as was sufficient to form the head and hinder parts of a horse, the quadrupedal defects being concealed by a long mantle or footcloth that nearly touched the ground. The performer on this occasion exerted all his skill in burlesque horsemanship. In Sampson's play of *The vowbreaker*, 1636, a miller personates the hobby-horse; and being angry that the mayor of the city is put in compe-

tition with him, exclaims, "Let the major play the hobby-horse among his brethren, and he will, I hope our townie-lads cannot want a hobby-horse. Have I practis'd my reines, my careeres, my prancers, my ambles, my false trots, my smooth ambles and Canterbury paces, and shall master major put me besides the hobby-horse? Have I borrowed the forehorse bells, his plumes and braveries, nay had his mane new shorne and frizl'd, and shall the major put me besides the hobby-horse?"

Whoever happens to recollect the manner in which Mr. Bayes's troops in the *Rehearsal* are exhibited on the stage, will have a tolerably correct notion of a morris hobby-horse. Additional remains of the Pyrrhic or sword dance are preserved in the daggers stuck in the man's cheeks, which constituted one of the hocus-pocus or leger-demain tricks practised by this character, among which were the threading of a needle, and the transferring of an egg from one hand to the other, called by Ben Jonson *the travels of the egg*. To the horse's mouth was suspended a ladle for the purpose of gathering money from the spectators. In later times the fool appears to have

^a *Every man out of his humour*, Act ii. Sc. 1.

performed this office, as may be collected from Nashe's play of *Summer's last will and testament*, where this stage direction occurs, "Ver goes in and fetcheth out the Hobby-horse and the morris daunce who daunce about." Ver then says, "About, about, lively, put your horse to it, reyne him harder, jerke him with your wand, sit fast, sit fast, man; *foole, holde up your ladle there.*" Will Summers is made to say, "You friend with the hobby-horse, goe not too fast, for feare of wearing out my lord's tyle-stones with your hob-nayles." Afterwards there enter three clowns and three maids, who dance the morris, and at the same time sing the following song:

"Trip and goe, heave and hoe,
Up and downe, to and fro,
From the towne, to the grove,
Two and two, let us rove,
A maying, a playing;
Love hath no gainsaying:
So merrily trip and goe."

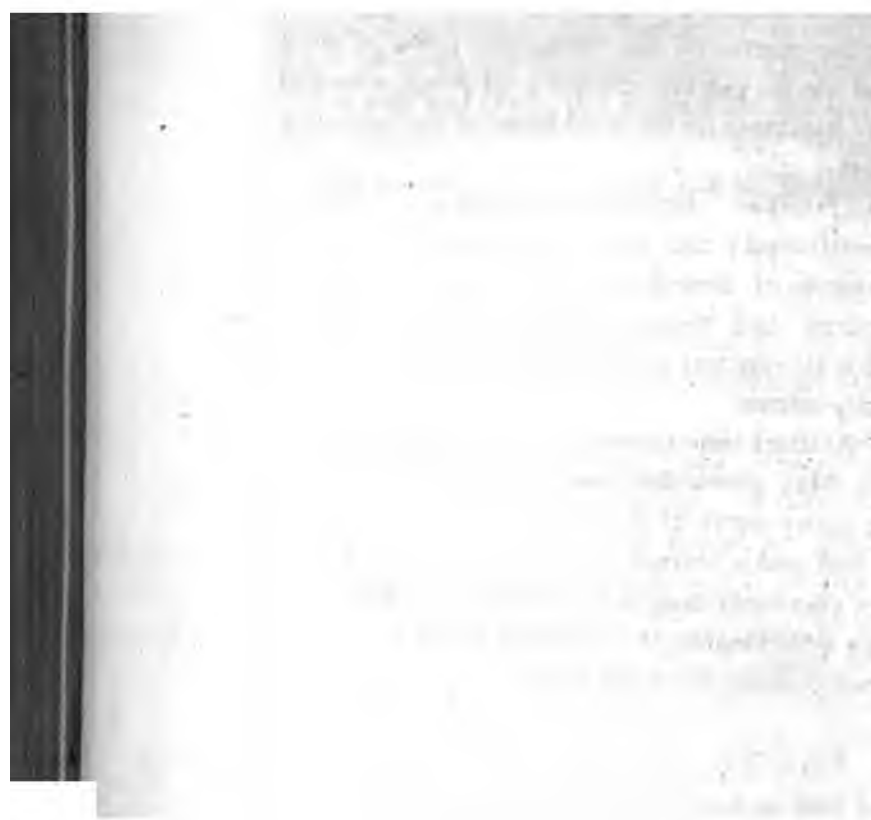
Lord Orford in his catalogue of English engravings, under the article of Peter Stent, has described two paintings at Lord Fitzwilliam's on Richmond green which came out of the old neighbouring palace. They were executed by Vinckenboom, about the end of the reign of James I., and

exhibit views of the above palace; in one of these pictures a morris dance is introduced, consisting of seven figures, viz. a fool, a hobby-horse, a piper, a Maid Marian, and three other dancers, the rest of the figures being spectators. Of these the first four and one of the dancers are reduced in the annexed plate from a tracing made by the late Captain Grose. The fool has an inflated bladder or eel-skin with a *ladle* at the end of it, and with this he is collecting money. The piper is pretty much in his original state; but the hobby-horse wants the legerdemain apparatus, and Maid Marian is not remarkable for the elegance of her person.

Dr. Plott, in his *History of Staffordshire*, p. 434, mentions that within memory, at Abbot's or Paget's Bromley, they had a sort of sport which they celebrated at Christmas, or on new year and twelfth days, called the *Hobby-horse dance*, from a person who carried the image of a horse between his legs made of thin boards, and in his hand a bow and arrow. The latter passing through a hole in the bow, and stopping on a shoulder, made a snapping noise when drawn to and fro, keeping time with the musick. With this man danced six others, carrying on their shoulders as many rein deer heads, with the arms



London, England, January 1851, by Longman & Co. Print House, New York.



of the chief families to whom the revenues of the town belonged. They danced the heys and other country dances. To the above hobby horse dance there belonged a pot, which was kept by turns by the reeves of the town, who provided cakes and ale to put into this pot; all people who had any kindness for the good intent of the institution of the sport giving pence a piece for themselves and families. Foreigners also that came to see it contributed; and the money, after defraying the expense of the cakes and ale, went to repair the church and support the poor: which charges, adds the doctor, are not now perhaps so cheerfully borne.

A short time before the revolution in France, the May games and morris dance were celebrated in many parts of that country, accompanied by a fool and a *hobby-horse*. The latter was termed *un chevalet*; and, if the authority of Minsheu be not questionable, the Spaniards had the same character under the name of *tarasca*°.

VIII. THE DRAGON. The earliest mention of him as a part of the morris dance we have already seen in the extract from Stubbes's *Anatomic*.

° *Spanish dictionary.*

of abuses, and he is likewise introduced in a morris, in Sampson's play of the *Hombreyer, or fayre maid of Clifton*, 1683, where a fellow says, "I'll be a fiery dragon;" on which another, who had undertaken the hobby-horse, observes that he will be "a thund'ring Saint George as ever rode on horseback." This seems to afford a clue to the use of this dragon, who was probably attacked in some ludicrous manner by the hobby-horse saint, and may perhaps be the Devil alluded to in the extract already given from Fetherstone's *Dialogue against dancing*.

IX. THE MORRIS DANCERS. By these are meant the common dancers in the late morrises, and who were not distinguished by any particular appellation, though in earlier times it is probable that each individual had his separate title. If there were any reason for a contrary opinion, it might depend on the costume of numbers 10 and 11 in Mr. Tollett's window, which may perhaps belong to the present class. There are likewise two similar figures in the Flemish print; and the coincidence in their attitudes is no less remarkable than it is in those of some of the other characters. The circumstance too of one only wearing a feather in his hat is deserving of notice, as it is the same

in both the representations. The streamers which proceed from their sleeves and flutter in the wind, though continued in very modern times, were anciently not peculiar to morris dancers, examples of them occurring in many old prints. In the reign of Henry the Eighth the morris dancers were dressed in gilt leather and silver paper, and sometimes in coats of white spangled fustian. They had purses at their girdles, and garters to which bells were attached⁹. The latter have been always a part of the furniture of the more active characters in the morris, and the use of them is of great antiquity. The *stinking ornaments of the feet* among the Jewish women are reprobated in *Isaiah* iii. 16. 16. Grattus Faliscus, who wrote his poem on hupping in the time of Augustus, has alluded to the practice of dancing with bells on the feet among the Egyptian priests of Canopus, in the following lines :

" *Vix operata suo sacra ad Bubastia lino*

Velatur sonipes æstivi turba Canopi."

Cynegeticon, lib. i. 42.

There is good reason for believing that the

⁹ See the plate of ancient cards, xxi. in Strutt's *Sports and pastimes*, where a *knave* or attendant is dressed in this manner.

⁹ Churchwardens' accounts at Kingston, in Lysons's *Enquiry of London*, i. p. 227, 228.

474. ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

morris bells were borrowed from the genuine *Moorish dance*; a circumstance that tends to corroborate the opinion that has been already offered with respect to the etymology of the *morris*. Among the beautiful habits of various nations, published by Hans Weigel at Nuremberg, in 1577, there is the figure of an African lady of the kingdom of Fez in the act of dancing with bells at her feet. A copy of it is here exhibited.



The number of bells round each leg of the morris dancers amounted from twenty to forty. They had various appellations, as the fore-bell, the second bell, the treble, the tenor, the base, and the double bell. Sometimes they used trebles only, but these refinements were of later times. The bells were occasionally jingled by the hands, or placed on the arms or wrists of the parties. Scarves, ribbands, and laces hung all over with gold rings, and even precious stones, are also mentioned in the time of Elizabeth^r. The miller, in the play of the *Wobreaker*, says he is come to borrow "a few ribbandes, bracelets, eare-rings, wyertyers, and silke girdles and handkerchers for a morice and a show before the queene." The handkerchiefs, or napkins^u as they

^r Stubbes's *Anatomic of abuses*, ubi supra.

^s See Rowley's *Witch of Edmonton*, 1658, Act i. Sc. 2.

^t Stubbes, ubi supra. *Knight of the burning pestle*, Act iv.

^u Stubbes, ubi supra. Jonson's *Masque of gipsies*. Holme's *Academy of armory*, book iii. p. 169, whence the following cut has been borrowed, which, rude as it is, may serve to convey some idea of the manner in which the handkerchiefs were used.



476 ON THE ANCIENT ENGLISH

are sometimes called, were held in the hand, or tied to the shoulders". In Shirley's *Lady of pleasure*, 1637, Act i. Aretina thus inveighs against the amusements of the country :

" ————— to observe with what solemnity
They keep their wakes, and throw for pewter candle-
sticks,
How they become the morris, with whose bells
They ring all into Whitson ales, and sweate
Through twenty scarffes and napkins, till the Hobby
horse
Tire, and the maide Marrian dissolv'd to a gelly,
Be kept for spoone meate."

The early use of the feather in the hat appears both in Mr. Tollett's window and the *Flemish* print; a fashion that was continued a long time afterwards*. Sometimes the hat was decorated with a nosegay†, or with the herb *thrift*, formerly called *our lady's cushion*‡.

Enough has been said to show that the collective number of the morris dancers has continually varied according to circumstances, in the same manner as did their habits. In Israel's print

* *Knight of the burning pestle*, Act iv.

† *Vox graculi*, 1633, p. 49.

‡ Fletcher's *Women pleased*, Act iv.

§ Greene's *Quip for an upstart courtier*, sign. B. 2.

they are nine; in Mr. Tollett's window, eleven. Mr. Strutt has observed that on his sixteenth plate there are only five, exclusive of the two musicians; but it is conceived that what he refers to is not a morris, but a dance of fools. There is a pamphlet entitled, *Old Meg of Herefordshire for a Mayd Marian and Hereford town for a morris dance, or 12 morris dancers in Herefordshire of 1200 years old, 1609, 4to.*^a In the painting by Vinckenboom, at Richmond, there are seven figures. In Blount's *Glossographia*, 1656, the *Morisco* is defined, "a dance wherein there were usually five men and a boy dressed in a girles habit, whom they call Maid Marrian." The morris in Fletcher's *Two noble kinsmen* contains some characters, which, as

^a This tract is mentioned by Sir William Temple, in his Essay on health and long life, from the communication of Lord Leicester. Howel, in his *Parly of beasts*, 1660, has recorded that "of late years ther were call'd out within three miles compasse ten men that were a thousand years between them, one supplying what the other wanted of a hundred years apiece, and they danc'd the *morris* divers hours together in the market place with a laborer before them 103 years old, and a *maid Marian* 105," p. 122. This seems to allude to the same event:

There still remain some characters in Mr. Tollett's window, of which no description can be here attempted, viz. Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 7. As these are also found in the Flemish print^b they cannot possibly belong to Robin Hood's company; and therefore their learned proprietor would, doubtless, have seen the necessity of reconsidering his explanations^c. The resemblance between the two ancient representations is sufficiently remarkable to warrant a conjecture that the window has been originally executed by some foreign artist; and that the panes with the English friar, the hobby-horse, and the may-pole have been since added.

Mr. Waldron has informed us that he saw in the summer of 1783, at Richmond in Surry, a troop of morris dancers from Abingdon, ac-

^b Compare No. 1, with the left hand figure at bottom in the print; No. 4, with the left hand figure at top; No. 6, with the right hand figure at bottom; and No. 7, with the right hand figure at top. This last character in the Flemish print has a flower in his hat as well as No. 4. Query if that ornament have been accidentally omitted by the *English engraver*?

^c This gentleman's death is recorded to have happened Oct. 22d, 1779. Gough's *Brit. topogr.* ii. 239.

accompanied by a fool in a motley jacket, who carried in his hand a staff about two feet long, with a blown bladder at the end of it, with which he either buffeted the crowd to keep them at a proper distance from the dancers, or played tricks for the diversion of the spectators. The dancers and the fool were Berkshire husbandmen taking an annual circuit to collect money^d. Mr. Ritson too has noticed that morris dancers are yet annually seen in Norfolk, and make their constant appearance in Lancashire. He has also preserved a newspaper article respecting some morris dancers of Pendleton, who paid their annual visit to Salford, in 1792^e; and a very few years since another company of this kind was seen at Usk in Monmouthshire, which was attended by a boy Maid Marian, a hobby-horse, and a fool. They professed to have kept up the ceremony at that place for the last three hundred years. It has been thought worth while to record

^d See his continuation to *Ben Jonson's sad shepherd*, 1782, 8vo; p. 255, a work of very considerable merit, and which will materially diminish the regret of all readers of taste that the original was left unfinished.

^e *Robin Hood*, I. cviii.

482 ON THE MORRIS DANCE.

these modern instances, because it is extremely probable that from the present rage for refinement and innovation, there will remain, in the course of a short time, but few vestiges of our popular customs and antiquities.



INDEX

"Commoditas homines studiosos invitavit librorum Indices
comparare, quibus minime labore ad id quod quisque
quereret, tanquam manu duceretur."

CICERO AD ATTICUM.

A.	Page
<i>ÆSOPIAN FABLES</i> , account of a collection of them made during the middle ages	77
—, moralized	341
<i>Alligator</i> , a conjecture on the derivation of this word	197
<i>Anachronisms</i> , those of Shakspeare pointed out . . .	281
<i>Angels, cracked</i>	236
<i>Anglo-Norman song</i>	214
<i>Apemantus</i> , his character whence borrowed	70
<i>Apollonius Tyaneus</i> , account of this romance	135
<i>Appeal for treason</i> , the ceremony observed in the combats on that occasion	8, 278
<i>Archee</i> or <i>Archy Armstrong</i> , the fool of James I. and Charles I.	308, 312, 326
<i>Armin Robert</i> , an imitator of Shakspeare in his play of <i>The valiant Welshman</i>	261
<i>Ars moriendi</i> , account of a print copied from it . .	21

Arvals, description of them 203

B.

- Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum*, account of this
book 278
- Basilisk*, its fabulous property 14
- Bauble*, the fool's, description of various sorts of it 117, 318
- Bavian fool* 459
- Beaufort, Cardinal*, strictures on a celebrated painting
of his death 20
- Beaumont and Fletcher*, one edition of their plays cu-
rious for the prints 283
- Bear-licking*, popular notions respecting it 29
- Bed*, blessing of the bridal 275
- Belly and the members*, origin of this apologue investi-
gated 76
- Bercheur* or *Berchorius*, his *Repertorium morale* ... 350
- , whether the author of the *Gesta Romanorum* 350
- Bestiarium*, an old work on natural history 340, 344
- Boccaccio*, account of the English translation of his
Decameron 109
- Bow*, the awkward use of it by crowkeepers 186
- Bromyard, John*, an old English preacher, his *Summa*
prædicantium described 347
- Brothels*, signs anciently belonging to them described 133
- , jesters employed in them 73, 104

C.

- Cardant's comfote*, a book used by Shakspeare 238
- Casket story*, in *The merchant of Venice*, remarks on 276
- Catullus*, a remarkable coincidence between a passage
in this author and one in Shakspeare 239
- Cavendish*, some remarks on his life of *Wolsey* 91

<i>Corton</i> , his chess book not didactic	341
——, not the author of a chronicle ascribed to him	174, 324
<i>Ceremonies</i> , popular, modern corruptions in them noticed	448
<i>Chastellain</i> , <i>George</i> , his account of the manner in which the duke of Gloucester was put to death	16
<i>Chopine</i> , description of it	231
<i>Cilhart</i> , the favourite hound of Prince Llewellyn, a story relating to him	382
<i>Clarence</i> , duke of, the manner of his death	17
<i>Cleopatra</i> , her trick upon Marc Antony	66
<i>Clerk of Chatham</i> , in <i>King Henry the Sixth</i> , an unreal character	74
<i>Clowns in old plays</i> , classification of them	303
——, Various remarks on	97, 118, 134, 272, 299
<i>See Fool</i>	
<i>Coin with cracked edges</i> , hoarded by usurers	233
<i>Combats single</i> , in cases of treason, ceremonies observed in them	8, 278
<i>Comet</i> , a medal stricken to commemorate that which appeared on the death of Julius Cæsar	82
<i>Concert</i> , improperly used for <i>consort</i>	3
<i>Contes devots</i> , account of them	339
<i>Cornelius's tub</i> , uncertainty of the origin of this expression	70
<i>Coroners</i> , their conduct satirized by Shakspeare ...	261
<i>Coryat</i> , a curious quotation from him	38
<i>Exventry plays</i> , an extract from one of them	241
<i>Critic on Shakspeare</i> , a female one censured	104
<i>Crotalum</i> , account of this ancient instrument	320
<i>Crowns of the sun</i> , the coins so called described	122

<i>Crying clubs</i> , illustration of that custom	51
<i>Cude Yeddy</i> , an idiot so called	168
<i>Cupid</i> , his golden shaft	273
<i>Cymbeline</i> , remarks on the story of this play	109

D.

<i>Daphantus</i> , a work by Scoloker, in which <i>Hamlet</i> is alluded to	245, 265
<i>Danes</i> , formerly remarkable for hard drinking	219
<i>Death and the lady</i> , old representations of	265
<i>Dedications</i> , prices of in the time of Elizabeth	425
<i>Devices</i> , whence those of the knights in <i>Pericles</i> were borrowed	126
<i>Devils invoked by witches</i> , account of them	5
<i>Dragon</i> , a character in the morris dance	471
<i>Drinking horns</i> , formerly carried by lunatics, &c. ...	164
<i>Drinking pots with hoops</i> , explained	23
<i>Dun is in the mire</i> , an old proverbial phrase	189

E.

<i>Ego et rex meus</i> , remarks on this expression	47
<i>Elf-knots</i>	182
<i>Elf-locks</i>	181
<i>Elf-stones</i>	ibid.
<i>Elizabeth Queen</i> , a compliment to her	45
<i>Eloisa</i> , some compositions by her noticed	255
<i>Ephesiacs of Xenophon</i> , a romance which is supposed to have furnished a material incident in the story of <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	199
<i>Euriphile</i> , whence the name borrowed by <i>Shakespeare</i>	103
<i>Evil spirits</i> , how the Greeks expelled them from dying persons	23

F.

<i>Fair lady of Norwich</i> , origin of a curious story so entitled	378
<i>Farmer Doctor</i> , a mistake in a note by him pointed out	420
<i>Fool</i> , Charles the First's	308
—, City and corporation	304
—, Court	308
—, Domestic	304, 306
—, Duke of Mantua's, story of him	312
—, Earl of Suffolk's	309
—, Female	304
—, Fortune's	189
—, In brothels	73, 304
—, In dumb shows at fairs	305
—, In the mysteries and moralities	304
—, Lord Mansel's	310
—, Louis the Thirteenth's	312
—, Morris	305, 458
—, Mountebank's	305
—, Pope's	306
—, Proverb relating to him explained	314
—, Sir Thomas More's	326
—, Stage, his office	315, 328
—, Story of a Welsh one	310
—, Strumpet's	73, 304
—, Tavern	304
—, Various remarks on this character 73, 158, 169, 272, 299	
—, Whitson ale	305
—, William the Conqueror's	306
<i>Fool's</i> , Bauble	318
—, Cockscorn	317

- Fool's*, Combat with Death 129
 —, Dress 346, 321
 —, General mode of behaviour 318
 —, Punishment 318
Fools, pre-eminence of, these in Shakspeare's plays 327
 —, Their decline 308, 329
 See *Clowns*.
Fortunatus, origin of the story of this romance 391
Fox-tails, how worn by ladies in the reign of Edw. I. 323
French songs and ballads 214, 256, 259
Frier John and frier Richard, a curious story so en-
 titled 125, 378
Frier Tuck, origin of his name 450
Funeral feasts, borrowed from the ancients 202

G.

- Gentlemen*, who were so formerly 186, 202, 277
Gesta Romanorum 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 171
 ————— Analysis of a work under this name
 composed in England 365
 ————— Enquiries concerning its authors
 349, 420 421
 ————— Manuscripts of it 356, 404, 426
 ————— Printed editions of it 356, 422, 427
 ————— Question examined whether com-
 posed in England 262
 ————— Stories from it used in the pulpit or
 otherwise to entertain the monks 348, 349
 ————— Translations of it 349, 421, 422
 ————— Two works under this name 338
Ghosts, damned 245
 —, Reasons for their appearing 220
 —, Why exclusively addressed by scholars 200

INDEX.

489

<i>Ghosts</i> , Why said to fast	222
——, Why they disappeared at the dawn of day ...	224
<i>Gis</i> , a corruption of <i>Jesus</i>	260
<i>Gloucester</i> , duke of, discordant accounts of his death .	16
<i>Gower</i> , supposed to have translated the <i>Gesta Ro-</i> <i>manorum</i> into English	422
<i>Grace</i> , when this title was first used	13
<i>Gray</i> , Mr., borrowed from Shakspeare	50
<i>Green eyes</i> , less uncommon formerly than at present	193
<i>Green sleeves</i> , some account of an old tune so called .	273
<i>Guido of Colonna</i> , his <i>Troy</i> book not an original work as usually supposed, but borrowed from Benoit de Saint More a Norman French poet	65
<i>Guillelmus Hilacensis</i> , singular title bestowed on him- self	341
<i>Guy Faux</i> , how treated by the modern populace ..	448

H.

<i>Hamlet</i> , alluded to in Scoloker's <i>Daiphantus</i>	265
——, Enigmatical speech by him explained	251
——, His madness	229
<i>Heaping coals of fire on a person's head</i> , explanation of this phrase	177
<i>Heart</i> , the seat of courage among the ancients	83
<i>Hearts and hands</i>	270
<i>Henbane</i>	223
<i>Heraldry</i> , ridiculed by Shakspeare	262
<i>Herb John</i> , a proverbial expression relating to it	269
<i>Hered</i> , account of his character in the old mysteries	241
<i>Hobby-horse</i> , a character in the morris dance	463
<i>Hugo de Sancto Victore</i> , some tales and fables ascribed to him	344
<i>Hume</i> , Mr., a singular remark by him	19

L

- Irish Fox Maule*, account of a curious print en-
graven by him representing a morris dance
Jacques, remarks on this name
Jack of the clock tower
Jesus, corruption of his name into *Gis*
—, name of, inscribed on swords
Joculat &c. ancient meaning of this word
Jourdaine, Margery, some account of her

K.

- Kilgrew*, not a regular jester
King Henry the Sixth, account of prayers composed
by him
———. Reasons why the whole of the
plays on his reign were not written by Shakspeare
King Lear, an unpublished story of him and his
daughters
Knight, remarks on this title

L.

- Labyrinthus*, the author of this Latin comedy indebted
to Shakspeare
Lady of the May
Lark, parallel passages relating to his singing ex-
tracted from old poets
Laureys, compared to frogs by an old monkish writer
Leland, probably translated the *Gesta Romanorum* 421, 4
Lord of the May
Louth, Bishop, mistaken in his opinion concerning
wastel bread

<i>Lullaby songs</i> , remarks on them	111
———, Specimens of	114
<i>Lydgate</i> , monk of <i>Bury</i> , supposed to have been concerned in an English translation of the <i>Gesta Romanorum</i>	422
<i>Lying at Ladies' feet</i> , an ancient custom	246

M.

<i>Maid Marian</i> , her character in the morris dance described	451
<i>Majesty</i> , when first used as a title by sovereigns	12
<i>Man</i> , how expressed in the Chinese language	163
<i>Manuscript</i> , account of a beautiful one	255
<i>Maret</i> , fool of Louis XIII. story of him	312
<i>Marian</i> , derivation of this name	452
<i>Marie de France</i> , a fable written by her	346
<i>Marshall</i> , <i>John</i> , some account of him	388
<i>Mary</i> , when this name first used	452
<i>Masques</i> , representations of ancient	179
<i>Matachins</i> , dance of	435
<i>May games</i>	439, 444
———, censured by the Puritans	463
<i>May lady</i>	453
<i>Measure for measure</i> , a story resembling its plot	273
<i>Merchant</i> , particular application of this word in the time of Shakspeare	186
<i>Mistletoe</i> , ancient prejudice against the berries of it	115
<i>Monarch of the North</i> , a Devil invoked by witches	5
<i>Monkies</i> , the ancient manner of retaining them	36
<i>Montfaucon</i> , a mistake by him pointed out	228
<i>Morality</i> , singular incident in one	329

<i>Moralisations</i> , the practice of adding them to various works in former times	340
<i>Morris dance</i> , characters of which it was composed ..	448
————, Different sorts of it described	440
————, Etymology of	428
————, French	437, 471
————, Music to a French one	438
————, Origin of	438
————, Representations of it described 445, 446, 469	
————, When first introduced into England ..	439
<i>Morris dancers</i> , described	472
<i>Muckle John</i> , fool of Charles I.	308

N.

<i>Nashe</i> , a story from his <i>Lenten stuffe</i>	88
<i>Norman drinking song</i>	215
<i>North</i> , monarch of the, a Devil so called	5

O.

<i>Occleve</i> , indebted to the <i>Gesta Romanorum</i> for two of his stories	390, 420
——, Supposed to have translated the <i>Gesta Ro-</i> <i>manorum</i> into English	422
<i>Odo de Ceriton</i> , his tales and fables	343
Specimens of them	345
<i>Orleans</i> , duke of, account of his poems	254
<i>Ovid</i> , his <i>Metamorphoses</i> moralized	342

P.

<i>Painters</i> , their errors in costume	284
<i>Paradin's heroical devises</i> , a book probably used by the author of <i>Pericles</i>	120

<i>Parkes, William</i> , quotations from his <i>Curtain-drawer</i>	
<i>of the world</i>	75, 107
<i>Partizan</i> , a different weapon from the pike	90
<i>Patenson</i> , the fool of Sir Thomas More	326
<i>Peacock pie</i>	217
<i>Pengeldan, Rees</i> , a Welsh fool, story of him	310
<i>Pentapolis</i> , account of	119
<i>Pericles</i> , the story of this play examined	135
<i>Perseus and Andromeda</i> , errors of artists in represent- ing the story of it	57
<i>Perseus's horse</i> , a critique on it	86
<i>Pheasant pie</i>	247
<i>Platting of horses' manes</i> , a superstitious notion, ex- plained	180
<i>Players</i> , censured for their stage interpolations	301
<i>Poor Tom</i> , hints for dressing this character on the stage	164
<i>Preachers</i> , account of ancient	344
—, Their custom of introducing stories into their sermons	338
<i>Proverbs</i> , old ones explained	314, 346
<i>Provincial roses</i> , account of	247
<i>Punch</i> , Dr. Johnson mistaken in his opinion concern- ing the origin of this theatrical character	251
Q.	
<i>Quail-fighting</i> , remarks on	86

R.

<i>Raoul le Fèvre</i> , account of his history of Troy	67
<i>Receipt</i> , to make men seem like horses	274
<i>Reels</i> , danced by witches	91

<i>Reynard the fox</i> , when this romance was composed	347
<i>Richard III.</i> , his deformity	95
<i>Riddles</i> , their occasional introduction into ancient romances	121
<i>Ritson, Mr.</i> , a mistake by him corrected	478
<i>Robin Rush</i> , the idiot fool of Lord Bunsy Manzel	310
<i>Robinson, Richard</i> , prices of his dedications	425
—————, Some curious works by him specified	423
<i>Rome</i> , pronunciation of this word in Shakspeare's time	61
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> , the original story of this play borrowed in part from a Greek romance	198
<i>Rosemary</i> , its use at funerals	195
<i>Roses of Provins</i>	247
<i>Rowe</i> , his edition of Shakspeare curious for the prints	283

S.

<i>Scoloker, Antony</i> , his <i>Daiphantus</i>	245, 265
<i>Seldom comes the better</i> , explanation of this phrase	83
<i>Seven wise masters</i> , the <i>Gesta Romanorum</i> indebted to it	377, 381
<i>Shakspeare</i> , his correct knowledge of the ceremonies belonging to the Romish church	20
—————, his metaphors often careless and confused	40
—————, ridiculed by Fletcher	222, 224
—————, the quarto editions of his plays full of typographical errors	241
<i>Shields in heraldry</i> , conjectures on their origin	261
<i>Ship of fools</i> , by Brandt, cited	328
—————, English prose translation of it by Watson	246
<i>Sidney, Sir Philip</i> , reprobated the custom of introducing fools on the stage	301
<i>Sir Isambard</i> , an incident in one of the stories in the <i>Gesta Romanorum</i> , borrowed from that romance	375

<i>Solomon's judgment</i> , stories in imitation of it	387
<i>Somers, Will</i> , portraits of him described	36, 325
<i>Somner, Mr.</i> , his erroneous opinion on wastel bread	212
<i>Songs</i> , ancient	114, 162, 192, 214, 258
<i>Stars on ancient medals</i> , expressive of immortality ..	134
<i>Stone</i> , a celebrated fool	313
<i>Stones</i> , superstitions relating to them	181, 224
<i>Stothard, Mr.</i> , his painting of Chaucer's pilgrims ..	285
<i>Stumble at the threshold</i> , explanation of this phrase	33
<i>Suicides</i> , how buried formerly	261
<i>Swan's speculum mundi</i> , cited for some lines in Shak-	
speare with variations	185
<i>Sword</i> , swearing by it	229
<i>Symposii enigmata</i> , some account of the work so	
called	136

T.

<i>Table books</i> , description of those used in Shakspeare's	
time	227
<i>Talourot</i> , the earliest writer on dancing	437
<i>Thor's hammers</i> , stones so called that were supposed	
to control the manes of the dead	225
<i>Thunderbolt</i> , superstitions relating to it	89
<i>Timon of Athens</i> , his epitaph	72
<i>Tollett, Mr.</i> , remarks on his curious painting on glass	
of a morris dance	445
<i>Tom Piper</i> , a character in the morris dance	463
<i>Torch bearers at masques</i> , account of	176
<i>Tristan de Leonois</i> , a riddle from that romance	121
<i>Troilus and Cressida</i> , the origin of their story examined	64
<i>Troy</i> , the names of its gates borrowed by Shakspeare	
from Caeton's recuyles or destruction of Troy,	
and not from Lydgate	53

<i>Troy</i> , the siege of it a frequent subject on old ta- pestry	51
<i>Trump</i> , an ancient game at cards explained	96

U.

<i>Usurers</i> , some of their practices described	235
<i>Valentine</i> , a palace so called at Turin	257
<i>Valentines</i> , custom of choosing examined	252
<i>Valentine and Orson</i> , some editions of this romance specified	240
<i>Vice</i> , an ancient theatrical character	304, 320
<i>Virgil's gnat</i> , some account of it	383

W.

<i>Warton</i> , Mr., character of his <i>History of English</i> <i>poetry</i>	336
<i>Wassel</i> , the origin and meaning of this word	206
<i>Wastel-bread</i> , explained	210
<i>Watson</i> , translated <i>Valentine and Orson</i> , and <i>The</i> <i>ship of fools</i>	240
<i>Watts</i> , Mr., his erroneous account of wastel bred ..	212
<i>Wax tablets</i> , some account of	228
<i>Whitney's emblems</i> , probably used by the author of <i>Pericles</i>	129
<i>Will the taborer</i> , a Welsh fool	310
<i>Wind</i> , an image relating to it	271
<i>Wine</i> , formerly made in England	218
<i>Wits fits and fancies</i> , a story from that work	249
<i>Wolsey</i> , Cardinal, articles against him	45
—————, improperly censured for placing a cardinal's hat on his coins	49
—————, Shakspeare's allusion to a strumpet kept by him	45

X.

- Xenophon of Ephesus*, a romance written by him supposed to have been used by the author of the story of *Romeo and Juliet* 198
- Two of the incidents in his *Ephesiacs* occur in *Cymbeline* 199

Z.

- Zimimar*, monarch of the North, a Devil invoked by witches 5



GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

A.			
ABSTRACT	93	Daughters of the game	62
Apron	7	Diet	70
Assinego	58	Dissembling	31
B.		Draw Dun from the	
Bases	125	mire	179
Bewray	26	Driveling	186
Boil	157	E.	
Bo-peep	146	Eager	226
Brands	101	Estridge	95
Burn'd	159	Extravagant	201
Buz	230	F.	
C.		Fast	223
Candle-holder	178	Flaw	157
Canon	201	Forked	162
Carouse	205	Fret	250
Carry coals	176	G.	
Caviare	236	Gadding	194
Charming	111	Gird	4
Chopine	231	Gis	260
Cockney	151	Gleek	196
Codpiece	158	Good b'ye	114
Complete	220	Grace	11
Concent	1	Griping	196
Conclusion	121	H.	
Consented	1	Handy-dandy	157
Corrosive	18	Ha no nonny	161
Crack'd within the		Have at you	43
ring	235	Hebenon	225
Cruzado	269	Horse's health	163
D.		Hunt's up	191
Damn'd	245	I.	
		Jack	38

- Idle 267
 Impertinency 168
 Inhoop'd 86
 L.
 Lenders' books ... 161
 Lullaby 111
 Lusty young men .. 177
 M.
 Majesty 12
 Meiny 150
 Milch 238
 Morisco 13
 Mysteries 43
 N.
 Naples 79
 Nice 94
 O.
 'Od's pitikins 108
 Ostent 93
 P.
 Pandar 60
 Parlous 34
 Peacock 248
 Picked 263
 Pillicock 160
 Pompæ 126
 Prattlings 241
 Provincial roses ... 247
 R.
 Rang'd 86
 Recorder 248
 Reels 91
 Roister 205
 Ropery 187
 Rope-tricks 188
 Rouse 203
 Ruddock 108
 Runaway's eyes ... 169
 S.
 Sadness 28
 Saint George to bor-
 row 40
 Saint George to thrive 40
 Sallet 23
 Sans 277
 Sere 230
 Silver-sweet 184
 Skains-mates 188
 Sop o' the moonshine 147
 Straight 261
 T.
 Though 183
 Three-hoop'd 23
 Tib 133
 Timely-parted 15
 To borrow 40
 To boot 39
 Turlygood 148
 U.
 Usher 92
 Vice 231
 W.
 Winchester goose .. 64
 Winter-ground ... 107
 Wooden pricks ... 148
 Wrest 61
 Y.
 Yorick 264

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

- Page 199, line 6, for "*all marriages*," read *marrisges* in general.
226, line 4, for "*gou*," read *you*.
484, line 14, for "*jusly*," read *justly*.
521, line 17, for "*urinal*," read *urinals*.
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VOL. II.

- Page 151, line 6, dele "*of*."
375, line 25, for "*Isumbrass*," read *Isumbras*.



